

Social Order

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BOOKS • LETTERS • COMMENT

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Social Order

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. . . just a few things

HOW GOOD ARE OUR ANSWERS?

READERS (well, five of them) have inquired if the Editor proposes to comment on the public strictures on his observations prepared for the National Catholic Social Action Conference's annual meeting in St. Louis and printed in our September issue.

Ed Marciniak notes in the October *Work*, "Father Duff's position was immediately challenged and hotly debated the entire week-end." I wasn't particularly aware of taking any position, certainly not of indulging what my good friend John Cort genially refers to as my "continuing love affair with American capitalism." It was my intention merely to cover the invitation to give the keynote address, commonly exhortatory in character, by supplying a specifically spiritual note to the occasion, leaving to the other speakers the selection of targets for social action, a function our issue of September, 1958 had, in any case, endeavored to fulfill. In my arrogance, I had hoped to urge a collective humility. Evidently, my purposes did not come off. Some NCSAC delegates, so Ed Marciniak writes, "accused Father Duff of leading them into 'conservative complacency'." The *Wage Earner*, Detroit's Catholic Labor paper, used the occasion for a front page editorial, commemorating its twentieth anniversary. I conclude that its editors feel that my presentation was calculated to cool concern for social justice.

The crux of the complaint, judging from its repeated incantation, is the

phrase, "the tolerable order of justice achieved in our society." In the interest of clarity, not to speak of reasonable discussion, it may be well to take another look at the sentence where the phrase occurs:

In the face of the tolerable order of justice achieved in our society, and this in an environment of political freedom, the prophet of a reform of our basic economic institutions in the name of Catholic social teaching should produce stronger credentials as an analyst, not to say as a creative revolutionary, than any I have yet encountered.

As the sentence was written, and as I think it properly reads, the emphasis falls on the absence of cogent analyses and viable answers, looking to "a reform of our basic economic institutions," coming from American Catholics. Three current and pressing problems where that absence is seen were listed: inflation, labor legislation, and crop surpluses.

Indeed, it comes somewhat as a surprise to find the sentence so universally misread. One wonders if what is implicitly resented is the sentence summarizing the irritating section of the text:

My simple argument is that we do not have today as developed a body of Catholic social teaching, concretely applicable to the American scene, as the *Letter to the Canadian Social Life Weeks* so clearly desires.

But this can hardly be so. Donald J. Thorman, president of the NCSAC, in the closing section on August 30, remarked:

The Catholic social action movement in the United States faces a bright and exciting future. The National Catholic Social Action Conference makes no exaggerated claims that it is able to meet and solve all of society's problems. But we are now in a real position to be the vehicle through which men of good will on every level of life can gather to exchange ideas, discuss mutual problems in the area of social action, and—we hope—ultimately arrive at some answers that will benefit both souls and the state of our nation as well.

There is a tendency among earnest people, it has been remarked, to think that principles, frequently enough invoked, serve as a substitute for a policy. Having an ample supply of principles on hand, there is a palpable danger that we will also be inclined to think that we have answers. In the September issue of *Worldview*, Charles Burton Marshall, a former member of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff, conceded that: "It is hard to put a halter on abstractions." But, he continues, principles are not enough:

It is wonderful to be for principles—and who can confess to opposition? Usually the advocate stops there and does not specify what principles he has in mind. He is for principles—which is to stop a good deal short of having a policy.

What principles? What is to be done in furtherance of them? Especially, what is to be done in view of the onerous circumstance that, in the stringency of means, one principle commanding our devotion is all too likely to come into collision with others equally worthy to be commended? These are the questions in face of which a policy takes form.

It is not even enough to be for "goals," for example, "the virtue and the habit [*sic*—Ed.] of social justice," as is the *Wage Earner*. As Mr. Marshall notes:

The easiest and most pleasant device of all is to dwell upon "goals." It costs

nothing. It gives one a huge sense of efficacy. For in a capacity to project the future in terms better than things are or ever have been, each of us can escape his finiteness. Each of us, in terms of a current quasi-religious song, has the whole world in his hands.

The devotion to sterling principles and advocacy of noble goals, while doubtless morally admirable, cannot be an intellectual surrogate for factual inquiry.

It would appear to me that the first concern of the apostle of social justice is to get his facts straight. In the last ten years, 217 daily newspapers in the U. S. have folded. The explanation is doubtless a complicated one. But I doubt that John Cort would want to give the impression that the situation has come about exclusively because newspaper publishers decided to be "the haves" at the expense of "grossly underpaid reporters" (not to speak of elevator operators, file clerks, copy boys and advertising agents).

What is the basis for the unspoken supposition that the more generous minded a person is, the more enamored of social justice, the more economic injustice he will find rampant in contemporary American society?

The *Wage Earner* for July asserts on its front page—but without reference to any source—that "three out of five persons over 65 have an income of less than \$1,000 a year and another one fifth, an income of less than \$2,000."

Is this income (as it appears to be) apart from social security benefits? If so, why not say so? More verifiable figures appear in *Information Service* of September 19, 1959, published by the Bureau of Research and Survey of the

(Continued on page 439)

The Challenge of The Common Good

FRANCIS J. BROWN

THIS PAST AUGUST 27-30 Catholic social actionists from all parts of the country met at Saint Louis University for their third National Catholic Social Action Conference (NCSAC). Through four fast-moving days a few hundred delegates from a wide assortment of organizations listened to talks bearing on the Conference theme, "The Challenges to Catholic Social Action", engaged in workshops, and tirelessly discussed practical applications of Catholic social principles to such realities of American life as the steel strike, pending labor legislation, Little Rock and Chicago slums.

Certain features of the Conference stood out in bold relief. There was, for example, the understandable tendency of many actionists to stress practice rather than to concern themselves with any theory of social action. And there was the usual heavy conversational emphasis on labor and labor activity, a fact that must be evaluated in the light of the knowledge that it was clergy and laity active in this arena who played leading roles in the formation of NCSAC and in its earlier conferences.

Dr. Brown teaches Economics at DePaul University, Chicago. The Editor has reservations on the practicability of the proposal urged in the article, doubting that the common good can be quantified.

But there were important breakthroughs in the customary emphasis on labor. Substantial time and effort were spent, for example, in the formal launching of a Catholic Employers, Managers, and Technologists Study Group (CEMTSG). The sessions of this group were lively and significant and resulted in new approaches to what has proved to be a quite inaccessible area in the past. Then, too, in the closing session, a strong suggestion from the floor that NCSAC establish a workshop on political education was roundly applauded.

It seemed that the coordinators of the Conference, quite aware of past criticisms that NCSAC has been too limited in outlook, had given serious thought to developing a program that would direct the minds of the participants to more general approaches to social action. But while many valuable ideas were advanced with respect to widening the scope of NCSAC, the Conference at no time was offered a vision of a whole purpose to be accomplished, of a broad plan into which the particular activities of so many people and organizations might fit in order to work in harmony with other groups in America toward a better social order.

The seeking out and the attainment of such a total purpose may prove to be necessary for the continued growth and perhaps even for the very existence of NCSAC. It presently embraces many earnest people courageously pursuing practical objectives on many difficult fronts. They enjoy meeting others engaged in similar activities, but they are not likely to continue to come back if they meet merely on a social level or even one of interchange of experiences or perhaps on any other basis other than that of coordinated participation in a grand plan of social action. To borrow an analogy from the military, even the boldest private defending a perilous outpost must have the security and courage that come from the knowledge that he is part of an over-all scheme.

The principles of Catholic social philosophy unhesitatingly point the way to the vision of a common good of society as a condition of general well-being within which man and his institutions can develop properly and fully. In this vision of a society formed by social justice and warmed by social charity man must accept a true understanding of his nature, capacities, and functions, and of their effect on the growth and shape of human institutions. People and groups must cooperate with other members of the social body, instead of being, as some seemingly were at St. Louis, somewhat reluctant to welcome representatives from other areas of society into the fellowship of the common good. Finally, man must exercise his political responsibilities confidently.

Despite the promise of this vision and the central position it enjoys in Catholic thought, American Catholics too often give the impression that the common good is a useless abstraction.

Nothing could be more inaccurate. The common good is indeed rooted in theory, but it becomes truly itself only when it becomes a practical reality embodied in a people and their institutions. In a well-ordered society it is such an evident condition that one can sense it, can almost touch and taste it, and certainly can describe and analyze it.

Here is a challenge worthy of NCSAC—the exploration and implementation of the common good as a practical reality. Here is something that practical men, working in conjunction with research personnel, can remove from the world of abstraction and bring to fruition in the world of affairs. And, at least for a start, enough theory and knowledge and techniques are now at hand. Numerous scholars have competently defined the common good. And research in the areas of economics, political science, and sociology has produced abundant material for those desiring to describe our society and to classify and analyze and, if necessary, influence its characteristics, institutions, functions and relationships.

There are techniques available to evaluate the common good. A first step would be to draw up a definition of the common good and a list of the means essential to achieving it. Such a list would certainly include *desiderata* with respect to the development of the human person and the condition of freedom, justice, and morality; to health, educational, legal and political arrangements; to the description, classification, and analysis of industrial, agricultural, and service institutions; to the impact of group upon group, of firm upon firm, of industry upon industry, and of all upon region, nation, and international order; and to the role of gov-

ernment. Then the actual conditions within society can be judged against the definition and the list. When the comparison of ideal and reality has been made, it should be possible, imperfectly and haltingly at first but eventually with competence and assurance, to give an estimate of the extent to which the common good is being attained. Perhaps a mark of 20 or 40 or 70 per cent might be given for achievement or its lack.

There are techniques available to effect changes demanded by the common good. While the viewpoint that certain aspects of our culture are impervious to human influence has its arguments, it is nonetheless basically false. Can it be doubted that there are techniques at hand to solve the problems that occur in the areas of housing and interracial justice? In these and other matters of similar gravity we must be careful not to confuse lack of use with impotency, difficulty with impossibility, or slow progress with the inability to proceed.

It is manifest that in the task of describing and analyzing and attaining the common good, social actionists must know well the world in which they wish to embody their vision and realistically count up their resources and appraise the difficulties. Let us say something about each of these matters in particular reference to the American scene.

The creators of the common good must know contemporary America. Instead of bogging down in particular thinking, in believing, for example, that one's little world, whether it be a union or the industrial Northeast or Chicago, is all of America, they should see our country as a vast continent of people with diverse backgrounds and activities. The parts must be known, it is true, but

so must the totality. The builders of the vision must know the ideologies of America and also her institutions, or lack thereof, realizing that, despite the appearances of unity that we tend to emphasize as characteristic, America has many troubled and disorganized aspects. Finally, they must appreciate that this is a land in which many wonderful things have been and are being done in behalf of the public welfare.

Catholic resources

Catholics possess many resources that can be most helpful in working with others in the attainment and maintenance of an ever-developing common good. They have, first of all, a coherent social philosophy rooted in social justice; they have rich sources of individual and social grace that can pour out into society through spiritual formation. As a moral people, many of whom are presently engaged in good works and specialized activities beneficial to social welfare, they have gathered together an awe-inspiring collection of churches, schools, and institutions built by sacrifices of lives and money beyond calculation. All these and their potential must be assessed by those who look towards the common good.

But there are obstacles aplenty. There is, first of all, the difficulty that the "affluence" of our society has diverted the minds of many from basic problems either lurking below the surface or else in full view and has led them to conclude that the fullness of the common good is already here, a view, incidentally, that found little reception among the social actionists at St. Louis. More fundamental difficulties arise out of the fact that Catholic social philosophy and moral theology have long been absent from our Anglo-Saxon culture so that we are often uncertain as to how to

proceed with respect to institutions shaped by utilitarianism, materialism, and economic liberalism.

With particular reference to the common good, we should highlight two sources of conflict and confusion: first, the conventional wisdom limits the concept to economic performance, whereas Catholic thought includes other criteria; and, secondly, the former looks for the common good as an indirect result of the competitive forces within society, whereas Catholic thought, while gladly blessing the social benefits of individual action, teaches that the common good can be sought as a direct goal by individuals and institutions. With respect to moral theology we should at least call attention to the present confusion over the nature of social justice, the virtue of the common good.

There are difficulties springing out of the background and social origins of Catholics. It is unfortunately still true that too many Catholics, either indifferent to the problems or concerned about maximizing their personal positions or possibly just fearful and withdrawn, are still standing in the wings. Such a failure in social justice is regrettable in itself, but it seems doubly unfair in a pluralistic society in which all groups should shoulder their share of responsibility for the public welfare. Let us hope that a new day is really dawning and that Catholics will enter the stream of social activity in ever greater numbers than in the past. To approach, to communicate, to understand, and to cooperate with others shall not always be easy, but Catholics must be about doing these necessary things.

There are problems among ourselves. Many, including even some of our university professors, have accepted or perhaps just breathed in faulty concepts

of society, and have thus become useless, if not obstructionist, in the building of a social order. Much spiritual life has tended to be strictly a private affair with too few social implications, with some even adopting a form of "Christian *laissez-faire*" that seems to maintain that everything will turn out well if only all are individualistically good. There is the disturbing fact that many clergy and laity are so very slow to react to new conditions. In this latter respect, we should mention the particularly delicate problem of the role of the laity in the professional class, many of whom seemingly bored or bemused by the same treatment accorded their untutored ancestors are, though still within the Church, silently, politely and firmly walking away from many of her activities and presumably also from whatever scant contact they might have with her philosophy of the common good.

At the present time NCSAC has many groups (workshops) dealing with such particular goods as housing, labor, education, and interracial justice. It might now be in order to create another one on the common good. Having a general view of the whole task of NCSAC, this group can serve as a coordinating force to direct the attention of the other groups to the significance of their particular actions on the common good; in this way such groups may eventually become parts of the whole instead of being what they are now, parts. It might assume the tasks of expanding the concepts of social justice and the common good, of studying the role of the laity, of keeping up-to-date a vital and comprehensive description of society, of drawing up general and particular goals and programs for

next year or for 1965 or 1975, and of developing patterns and methods to pursue such goals successfully. At each annual conference it might present a report on the state of the common good, detailing successes and failures and indicating approaches for the future.

Some few months before the August conference NCSAC set up a committee on research composed almost entirely of university professors close to practical problems. Maybe this group might take on the responsibility for coordinating the activities of NCSAC toward the common good. Certainly these men have the contacts to mobilize an impressive array of assistance from scholars and from national organizations of economists, sociologists, and political scientists. Perhaps they might encourage some group or university to establish an institute of social action in which a team of moralists, philosophers, social scientists and statisticians can cooperate with men in the field for the attainment of the common good. Who knows? Perhaps the common good will not receive much greater clarification until the doers do more thinking and the thinkers do more doing.

But no matter who does it, a practical approach to the common good must be undertaken, if only to be scrapped a year or two later in favor of newer approaches. Doubtless many will be faint of heart at the thought of this breath-taking and seemingly impossible task, but for the true Christian there can be no doubt, no fear, no hesitation. By definition he is one who sets out after the ideal, even while staring the realities of original sin and life in the face. If NCSAC attempts anything less than the ideal, it will run the risk of being just another organization in the history of the Church.

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TIME FOR GIFTS

Many true friends and readers of SOCIAL ORDER like to send out gift subscriptions at Christmas and other seasons. One active grandmother in a Midwest city sent three 3-year subscriptions to a university professor who was interested in sound social thought, a former vice-president and her son's family. Others send SOCIAL ORDER to their pastors and to legislators and libraries.

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—Thanks!



"... a gain if it forces Americans to a realistic examination of their

On Encountering

FRANCIS J. CORRIGAN

THERE ARE MANY WAYS of reckoning time. Our calendar begins in the year of Our Lord, the ancient Romans began their count of years with the founding of the city, Mohammedans begin with the flight of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina. Russians who presently date events from the October Revolution may hereafter reckon time from the Khrushchev-Eisenhower meeting and the beginning of the Red Thaw.

With Khrushchev's coming, seeing, while failing to conquer the United States, the tone of East-West discussions has apparently improved. Only the march of subsequent events, of course, will tell us whether the visit was essentially helpful or harmful. One thing, however, seems clear: while we may be on the way to improved relations between the Soviet and the free world, the fundamental issues which divide these two worlds remain essentially unchanged.

In his public appearances Khrushchev generally held fast to Soviet orthodoxy in insisting that communism is in all respects superior to capitalism and that the triumph of the former is inevitable and hastening. Yet he made some concessions which may be significant. He told a luncheon audience in

Pittsburgh that "your country is a rich one and your people are leading a good life." Possibly the opportunity of seeing how our people live and work may have forced him to drop the tired old party line that unemployment has reduced American workers to hunger and that job-holders are slaves of a small ruling clique. More remarkable was his admission that a slowdown in the armaments race would not seriously disrupt America's economic balance. Until now, it has been a fundamental Soviet tenet that America's ruling classes must keep the cold war going because termination of large-scale defense contracts would bring immediate and widespread depression.

Apart however from its possible beneficial modification of Khrushchev's image of America, his visit can be counted a gain if it forces Americans to a realistic examination of their own relative strength and weaknesses.

As commencement speakers have been reminding us for years, the rapidly changing world in which we live should compel us to recognize that our present order has not assumed a permanent form but is itself in a process of continuing modification. Americans want progress. They recognize that progress without change is impossible. They recognize that the attempt to arrest reform is as great a threat to peace and order

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strength and weaknesses."

Khrushchev

as the intrigue of agitators. They want, however, improvement by orderly evolution rather than violent revolution. Certainly, after seeing at first hand Khrushchev's massive self-assurance, his tenacity, his unwavering determination to have his will at all costs, his unquestioning confidence in communism, Americans have abandoned the notion (if they ever seriously believed it) that communism is likely to fail through its own inner weaknesses and contradictions. This encounter with the Soviet chief, then, offers Americans an excellent occasion for re-examining their own principles of liberty and order and rediscovering how power, property, freedom and prosperity are related to each other.

We might well begin that reappraisal by taking a searching look at our economic system. Such an examination would put us in the way of strengthening what is found to be good and modifying or eliminating what is weak or harmful. Is there a better way of picking up the gauge which Khrushchev threw down before us? As Khrushchev knew before he came and practically conceded while on his whirlwind tour, the American economic system has many virtues. To the extent that our system safeguards human values, most Americans would want to preserve and strengthen its following features:

1. The system is highly productive.

That American productivity is highest is beyond debate.¹ Khrushchev himself, in one of his American speeches, states:

We want to overtake and surpass you by our physical and spiritual efforts, by the creative powers of our people. We want to be just as rich as you are and in this we say to you as honest partners: take care and step up your drive, otherwise you will really find yourself lagging behind us.

In 1850 an American worker produced in an hour goods which had a value of about 41 cents in terms of today's dollar. His 1959 counterpart turns out \$3.50 worth of goods in an hour. Thus, today's worker produces in seven minutes as much as his grandfather did in an hour.

Among the basic reasons for this high productivity may be listed these: 1. The evolution of power-driven machinery and equipment which has given each worker vast amounts of inanimate energy. 2. Research or "the industry of discovery" which has now become the most important source of productivity growth by creating increasingly efficient processes and equipment. The more than five-fold expansion of scientific activities in the past ten years has produced a veritable avalanche of labor-saving devices and methods whose effects are just beginning to be felt. 3. The rise in the power of trade unions and their postwar policy of demanding periodic wage increases keeps management under constant pressure to reduce

¹ Professor Colin G. Clark of the Econometric Institute recently told a Congressional Committee that the U. S. growth rate still exceeds that of the Soviet Union. He asserts that contrary statistics reflect sketchy Soviet data put out in the early postwar period, a time of frantic Soviet rebuilding. Cf. *New York Times*, September 29, 1959 and *Business Week*, October 3, 1959, p. 42.

costs through installation of the most efficient labor-saving techniques available.

2. The economic system through reduction of the work week affords the individual much leisure time.

While few question the achievements of our production system on economic grounds, many observers have raised serious questions about the emerging patterns of our mass culture. They ask whether the evolving materialism of contemporary society will be able to support the high standards of quality and achievement that aristocratic ages have bequeathed us. Certainly, whether it is an inane "horse opera" on television or a can-can demonstration in Hollywood for the Soviet visitors, triviality and vulgarity are easy to find in our society.

Popular culture

But a people's culture cannot be judged by a few isolated, superficial manifestations. Americans in recent years have bought more than a million paperback copies of the *Illiad* and the *Odyssey*. Three times as many concerts are held in this country as in all the rest of the world. In a quarter of a century the number of symphony orchestras has risen from 30 to 160; we have 703 opera groups, 650 professional and semi-professional orchestras; the Metropolitan Opera's radio broadcasts are heard by 15,000,000 people each week. More than 6,000 amateur painters are studying art by mail and art gallery and museum attendance is at a new high.²

Consumption must not, of course, be confused with creation or quantity with quality. The evidence indicates, however, that many Americans are trying

to use their expanding leisure hours in a rewarding way. To the degree that our economic system affords opportunity to make the pursuit of culture possible, the hard task of converting opportunity into achievement will certainly in time bear some creative fruit.

3. Individual initiative, admittedly not always directed to socially useful purposes, is fostered by substantial incentives.

An alert visitor to this country quickly comes to realize the importance of many factors which in their totality may be described as "the climate" of our economic system.

The American people are energetic and resourceful; they like "to get things done." The freedom to think, to innovate, to depart from custom, to take issue with elected and appointed officials, to choose to travel about, the willingness to make necessary sacrifices are major strengths of our economic system. The relative lack of nepotism in large corporations and the absence of any social stigma attached to a business career are additional reasons why the financial and non-financial incentives attract many talented people into the business world. As one observer puts it:

... private enterprise as it now exists is an evolving thing and affords a basis for further evolutionary change of the most flexible sort available, with the most nearly voluntary methods of adjusting of conflicting interests and changing rights. This seems to be the most cogent reason for wanting it to continue.³

4. The diffusion of economic power provides checks and balances and encourages the development of leadership.

³ J. M. Clark, *Economic Institutions and Human Welfare*, Knopf, New York, 1957, p. 259.

² *Life*, October 5, 1959, p. 15.

In his tour throughout the United States, Khrushchev left no doubt that he is the undisputable boss of the Soviet. He pointed with pride to his moon shot, his military strength, his country's expanding industrial and scientific progress, the Soviet's lack of recessions and depressions and its solid international gains.



The price of this industrial and military supremacy comes high. Progress has been purchased by forced saving, by disavowing government loans, by down drafts on industrial initiative and freedom, by severe limitations of consumer goods, and in some cases by starvation. Scientific advance has been made in limited, "approved" areas, typically those having military or industrial potential. The absence of economic fluctuations in the business cycle finds a partial explanation in forced and slave labor and relatively low living standards. (It has been stated, perhaps in jest, that the Soviet Union is not prosperous enough to "afford" a recession.) Gains in world position have been largely achieved by military force or by its threat and by a systematic infiltration or subversion of established governments.

As one writer who has attempted to describe the Soviet system notes:

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But the Marxian promise, at least in its modern communist version, is one not only of industrialism but of *developing* industrialism—an outlook idealizing scientific discovery, yet insisting it conform to the party line—the current interpretation of an ambiguous social oracle. To glorify change and yet restrict it; to simulate the restless inquiry of the West and then expect it to conform spontaneously to the vague rules of a complex and evasive gospel concerning whose meaning there may, in utmost good faith, be scores of different interpretations; to feel an utter, fierce conviction that the salvation of mankind depends upon the survival only of the correct (your) interpretation, surely there could not be social outlook less likely ever to dispense with coercion or eliminate conflict.⁴

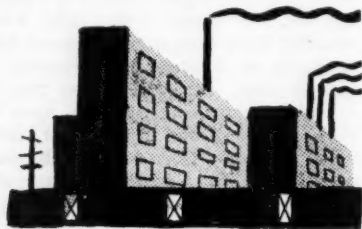
Individual rights our basis

Here the situation is far different. Our system of representative government and constitutional guarantees of individual right plays a large part in differentiating our economic system from that of the Soviet Union. In a very real sense these guaranteed individual rights underlie and form the basis of the economic growth we have witnessed in this country. Not only the political system but our social attitudes and existing business practices encourage each person to progress as far as his ability and determination will carry him. Thus enterprise and risk, the chance "to make money," if you will, are outstanding characteristics of our economy. This state of affairs might be described as decentralized economic initiative.⁵ As a principle of social organization, its value lies in the fact that the whole society can benefit from the skills and knowledge, the imagination

⁴ D. McC. Wright, *Capitalism*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1951, p. 27.

⁵ Committee for Economic Development, *Economic Growth in the United States*, 1958, p. 21.

and ambition, inherent in the nation's people. Freedom of the individual, of course, has values which transcend the merely material plane. But if the test of accomplishment is narrowly limited to material betterment, America's economic system, to be conservative in statement, has produced good results.



Modern American "capitalism" is not the system of centralized, irresponsible power or unrestricted *laissez-faire* which critics often portray it. An immense body of law and custom circumscribe the day-to-day operations of American business; the actual emerging or potential partitioning of the market, the continuing growth of countervailing forces, through which the power of one group is offset by the appearance of a matching power—all these factors preclude economic dictatorship or irresponsibility.

By contrast, in the Soviet authoritarian society, the impulse toward expansion originates not from below and from tens of millions of individual decisions, but from above, from a select few clustered about the centralized power-group. In this context, conformity for the average Russian is not, as in the case of Americans, the result of social pressures which sociologists discuss, but is imposed by authority and enforced by all the resources which an authoritarian state can command.

Defects

Our social system like all things man made is not perfect. Whatever its defects may be, none are so serious as to warrant scrapping the system or seriously impairing its functioning. Most economists will agree that the following features of the system⁶ require attention:

1. An undue amount of energy is devoted to socially injurious, unproductive or unimportant ends.
2. Some natural and human resources are wastefully and prodigally exploited.
3. The fullest utilization of economic effort is often blocked by the restrictive practices of government, labor, management, farm and other groups.
4. Policies are often determined on the basis of anticipated benefits to narrow blocs without adequate consideration of their effect on the community as a whole.
5. Economic instability leads to misdirection of effort and resources, waste and human misery.
6. Despite significant advancement in recent years, serious discrimination still exists in many quarters on the grounds of race, nationality, religion and sex.
7. Despite marked progress, much remains to be done in removing inequalities of wealth, income and opportunity.
8. We have yet to find a wholly satisfactory way of reconciling strife between groups with conflicting interests.

⁶ See *Report of a Called Conference of Quaker Economists*, published by The American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, December, 1949.

9. Short sighted, nationalistic economic policies contribute to international hostility.
10. There is a reason for belief that our peace time economy is being increasingly regimented by an expansion of bureaucratic government.
11. While wholesome competition must be retained, there appears to be excessive emphasis on competition at the expense of cooperation and on pecuniary gain at the sacrifice of higher human values.

These and other defects of the system should be freely conceded; but this concession of imperfections and weaknesses and an earnest desire to eliminate them is wholly compatible with a spirited defense of the system as a whole. Our economy has demonstrated advantages which make it definitely worth preserving. The great danger is not in the defects of the system itself but in an attitude of mind which refuses to see defects or to accept change at all (or too slowly to meet the requirements of an expanding society.) The dangers of the midday demon exist for society as well as for the individual. According to one observer, once a society has reached economic maturity, it may choose one or more of four broad objectives: natural pursuit of external power, a welfare state, expansion of mass consumption levels, or increased leisure.⁷

We clearly have chosen the goal of a higher and better living for the mass of our citizens. Which of these choices is the Soviet Union likely to make? On technical, structural and psychological grounds, it would seem that the Soviets

should soon be ready for an era of higher consumption. If the Kremlin approves this choice, it may be increasingly difficult to justify the maintenance of rigid, internal discipline and central leadership. As the implications of the Soviet choice become clear, the ruling power elite, desirous of perpetuating and justifying its control of the state, may succumb to the temptation of moving further in the direction of nationalistic aspirations and imperial conquest.

With this dilemma in mind, Professor Rostow offers a threefold recommendation to the West: to hold a military position so formidable as to make attempts toward world domination thoroughly unattractive for the Russians. To do all in our power to see to it that the uncommitted and underdeveloped countries, which loom large in Russia's future aspirations, can and will move into the democratic orbit. To strive to make the choice of a high consumption economy as easy, natural and face-saving as possible for Khrushchev and the Soviet bureaucracy.

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⁷ See W. W. Rostow's Cambridge Lectures on Economic Growth, *The Economist*, August 15 and August 22, 1959.

Before self-determination, what place in international organizations

Territories in

LINDA and LEONARD CASPER

AFRICA IN 1960 will celebrate the independence of at least four nations: Nigeria (expected to absorb British Cameroons), French Cameroons, Togoland and Italian Somaliland. In the midst of celebrations these countries may be sobered by the fortunes of their sub-Sahara neighbors, undergoing other stages of the same process. The Central African Federation, for example, has also chosen 1960 for its elevation to Commonwealth status. Yet by that date it may not even have survived as a federation, because Nyasaland refuses to submit to Rhodesian discriminations amounting to *apartheid*. In a similar dilemma of distrust, Guinea, the only former French territory to spurn the French Community, must balance the satisfaction derived from her decision and subsequent recognition as a UN member against the *travail obligatoire* currently imposed on all citizens. To preserve their independence (from ambitious Ghana as well as from larger powers) the people have been forced to sacrifice hard-won freedoms. The consequences of self-government come sometimes as a surprise to those too intent on removal of foreign con-

trol to envision days beyond. How well will the new African nations be able to live with their achievement?

Candid leaders of nativist movements sometimes admit, as Tanganyika's Julius Nyerere has, that "... when we take over the government, my troubles will begin." It is no mere coincidence that Pakistan, Sudan, the UAR, Lebanon, Iraq and Burma, all recently become independent, have strong-arm military rule today; that Indonesia has returned to virtual dictatorship; that Nkrumah of Ghana practices high-handed suppression of opposing political parties. After bloodshed and fanfare, too often one authoritarianism has been replaced by another.

Nevertheless, the temper of even the most unprepared, inexperienced people will not be denied. Sometimes the very causes for such unpreparedness—years of colonial powers' postponed concern—have provoked present insistence on separation. It is to DeGaulle's credit that the French Community has made violence unnecessary for millions of aspiring Africans. Yet the French offered their colonials a choice between integration and independence only when they themselves were reduced to no alternatives. Whether by force or by friendly means, some degree of equality was required by history.

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for non-self-governing territories?

Turmoil

The deadly impasse from which De-Gaulle seemingly has extricated France was not the result of Gallic flirtation with the absurd. Nor is it a syndrome common only to modern colonial powers in decline. Rather, it is symptomatic of the failure of the family of nations as a whole, in the United Nations, to deal justly and adequately with the dangling, dependent territories.

The UN was founded partly, it might be argued, to promote this natural will to be liberated, to be recognized, which one sees violently expressed in Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia today. Confusing peace with infirmity, the UN has been slow to define its own police powers in the Hungarian, the Suez, and the Lebanon crisis. It has preferred an observer status, a kind of inertia ironically described as "delaying actions," so that matters have often passed out of the UN's effective jurisdiction before being solved. This sort of peace has been considered sufficient. What such indecision betrays is a lack of discipline on the part of UN members, a failure of nerve and of the endurance required to quicken the Charter's inert and abstract principles. In effect, the UN has sometimes helped provoke the very bloodshed which it intended to prevent by offering no other alternative to desperate people,

those patronizingly called underdeveloped because underprivileged.

Evidence that neglect is an international fault is afforded by absence of associate membership in the UN or any other means of apprenticeship to prepare those countries approaching their time to become full members. On the excuse that such members, although restricted in voting right to certain matters, would always conform to the resolutions of their colonial powers and thus give such powers unfair advantage in an assembly already jittery with political nerves, dependent countries have been deprived of status and the opportunity to mature through participation. This UN policy, which spites its own principles of human advancement, has had a curious result. Even avowedly apolitical international organizations, antecedent to the UN's own existence but now associated with it as specialized agencies, sometimes tend to be less liberal and more contradictory in their relations with "non-self-governing territories" than they were years ago.

Both the International Telecommunication Union and the Universal Postal Union formerly were nonrestrictive in admitting members, provided that applicants who were not fully self-governing possessed appropriate technical administrations and services independent from those of the states responsible for their foreign relations. By the time of the Unions' absorption into the UN structure, such members had developed vested rights. It was felt that these territories had acquired an international personality which could not be rescinded. However, membership was withheld from all dependencies not already accepted by the late 1940s. In the UPU, the United Kingdom, declaring itself in

a "position of inferiority" because it had only one vote for all 50 overseas territories, requested a continuation of the old principle—representation by independent postal administrations. However, the Soviet bloc won its point that the Union was now an intergovernmental organization, one among sovereign equals. A similar debate, with political overtones, in the ITU maintained the status quo, under which the Soviets controlled "vested interest" votes for Russian Asia, Boukhara, Khiva, Eastern Siberia and Western Siberia. In partial compensation, the ITU admits associate members as participants, usually without vote except at the regional (not international) level.

Procedures vary

On the other hand, some post-UN organs have proven more liberal—however haphazard and enigmatic their principles of preferment—than the UN itself. The World Meteorological Organization (established in 1951) is virtually non-restrictive in extending ordinary membership to proper applicants. Nevertheless, non-self-governing territories, although called ordinary members are in effect associates only. They cannot vote for amendment or interpretation of the Convention or on proposals for a new convention; nor on questions of membership, relations with the UN, or the election of certain officers. They are eligible for membership in the Executive Committee but cannot elect its members! However, although equality among members is only an illusion, at least territories do receive some token recognition in the WMO.

In UNESCO, as well as in the World Health and Food and Agricultural Organizations, there seems to exist a prac-

tical awareness that nutrition, health and education are international responsibilities, regardless of the dependence or independence of the country involved. Associate membership is allowed any territory which has the technical competence to qualify. Such acceptance, of course, has come slowly. As early as its third session, the UNESCO General Conference regretted the neglect of trust and other territories, which represent large areas of the world's population, simply because the government departments responsible for their administration often were not directly connected with UNESCO. But the French delegate suggested that those ignored would be satisfied by the mere inclusion of a special chapter in annual reports on progress made in the territories, and that offering membership was unnecessary. National commissions of the member states were to assume the burden of speaking for these inferior peoples. Doubts were often expressed, in succeeding sessions, whether the constitutional unity between certain states and their overseas territories would not be impaired by any offer of direct membership. Rights when finally granted, therefore, were circumscribed. Sessions cannot be held in territories not responsible for their own international relations; associate members are ineligible for chairmanships of committees which would compel them to criticize the member states in charge of their external affairs; and the like.

Elaborate restrictions cripple FAO associate members as well, so that only token recognition has resulted. In the WHO, at the regional level, the rights of associates nearly equal those of full members, their interests being presumed to focus on regions where they are lo-

cated. But, at the central level, they may not vote in the Health Assembly and its main committees; and their rights are subject to periodical revision, to prevent any preponderance of voting strength shifting in their favor.

WHO recognizes also, at the regional level, the rights of "participating territories" which, though not formally part of the organization, are represented by their administering authority. A metropolitan power with constitutional responsibility for territories in a given region can participate in that region, even though its seat of government is elsewhere, to the extent of one vote for the totality of its territories therein. The French had argued that certain integral portions of the Republic were being ignored in regional conventions because, constitutionally, they could not be granted autonomous representation. It offered to guarantee that delegates from such portions would be native and expert but jealously retained the right to their selection. Egypt objected on the grounds that a metropolitan power, through its dependencies, would consequently be allowed supplemental votes; but the French proposal was adopted. To complicate the problem, Tunisia and Morocco (not then independent), as well as Algeria, requested inclusion in the European office, since the Sahara and Libyan deserts separated them from most of Africa and since population movements were in the direction of Europe. Although the three countries

subsequently were made associate members, their request set a precedent; and "participating territories" are now assigned provisionally to the region of their choice. Furthermore, they have the advantage, *over associates*, of having a right to vote in all committees and sub-committees!

Overcautious ILO

The most informal attachment of territories to specialized agencies is consultative membership, a kind of observer status, in groups such as the International Labor Organization. Despite the long history of liberality in world labor movement and despite recognition in its own constitution that "failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labor is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own country," the ILO has over-cautiously refused ordinary or associate membership to territories. At the regional level, territories have full voting rights. At the central level, depending on their degree of autonomy in labor matters, they may be represented in the delegation of a member state (but without separate vote) or merely advise the delegation on matters affecting them. The colonial powers have argued that any other arrangement would provide "power without responsibility." Consequently, in 1956, Tunisia and Sudan had to make the long leap from observer status to full membership, without adequate preparation. The situation is more logical in the WHO where observer nations are those expectant of becoming associates soon.

The absence of a single standard-operating-procedure is understandable among organizations with differing his-



tories and dispositions, *provided* that there is a reasonable consistency of attitude within any organization towards its membership and that this attitude, in turn, is compatible with the apolitical nature of its purposes. In too many specialized agencies there is confusion rather than healthy variety; and this confusion seems to rise from a procrastination about first principles. Despite independence and competence in matters of health, education, labor and the like, territories have often found themselves gagged, in group work, on the assumption that their political dependence would permit multiple votes to certain colonial powers. The very metropolitan powers—France, Belgium, Portugal, the Netherlands—which have denied the principle of unified representation, have also sometimes resisted granting associate membership to overseas territories, on grounds that in some cases these countries are integral parts of an indivisible nation and to treat them otherwise would impair the unity of state or effect modification of their constitutions! These powers have claimed now a singular, now a manifold personality, whichever would benefit them in debate. France once applied for full membership in the WHO on behalf of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, evidence of their independence being treaties signed between France and them. Yet Ceylon challenged the application because several of those treaties put control of diplomatic missions, immigration, customs, etc. in French hands.

Lack of political independence has placed many territories in unnecessary inferior positions in non-political organizations. For example, although representatives from non-self-governing territories are, under the agencies' consti-

tutions, to be chosen from native populations, the actual choice is in the hands of the metropolitan powers which sometimes, exploiting the imprecision of the semantics involved, have sent officials from their colonial offices to represent the "indigenous peoples." Liberia once objected to the designation of a man born in Great Britain as the Gold Coast's spokesman in UNESCO. On the other hand, Belgium, claiming that it constitutes a single state and a single nationality with the Belgian Congo, specified before the ILO that it alone could choose the Congo representatives.

Place without power

Specialized agencies, particularly at the regional level, are mainly technical bodies. Since political dependence should not impair economic, social and cultural independence, there is every reason to allow competent territories a larger part in such agencies. Partial status—granting the right to discuss, but not the authority to support one's statements by vote—invites power without responsibility. The fact that member states undertake to implement the various conventions and agreements in their territories has been used to justify denial of voting rights even to associate members in the main bodies of FAO, UNESCO and ITU. If this approach were valid, participation in meetings would also be unjustified. How long can the agencies afford to postpone expansion of rights now asserted to be premature? Today, colonies represent a third force in world politics which neither of the dominant ideologies can ignore.

The arrangement by which associate members vote in sub-committees but not in the main committees wherein the

same matters are discussed implies that distinctions have been made for the sake of distinctions; and that technical competence is considered a minor requirement. Promotion of equality does not proceed from such practices.

Presumably, the problem of non-self-governing territories will not be permanent, if self-determination is the goal for the entire family of nations. But the interim is critical. Treatment now of each country by every other country will determine the kind of peace possible later. Social progress is so closely allied with human rights and freedom, that independent and full, direct participation must be granted as soon as possible to non-metropolitan territories. Associate membership must be more than nominal, if it is to train territories in international cooperation. Full membership in these technical bodies might, in turn, function as an apprenticeship towards future participation in the UN.

The UN itself, which should lead the way, at present does not even follow. But it can. As a sign of its own good will, it can improve on the more liberal procedures of these agencies with which it has important liaison and set an example of conduct for the others in clarity of purpose and consistency of action. Provision of associate membership in the UN would prevent that leis-

urely delay in the granting of political self-determination which so provokes stalled nations. It would be a firm sign to colonial powers of what was expected, not ultimately, but reasonably soon, between peoples under a Charter which proclaims "social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom."

Promises to be kept

If such membership is withheld from trust territories, as special cases, then these should have at least direct participation in the UN Trusteeship Council, on which sit at present only UN members administering trusts and an equal number of members which do not. No better check on that Council's function can be imagined, no surer means to "their progressive development towards self-government or independence." At present, all territories benefit as recipients from international organizations. But they have a right to expect, as well, direct association in the specialized agencies, the Trusteeship Council, and the Economic and Social Council which coordinates them; and progressive participation in the UN General Assembly.

South-West Africa's appeal to the UN for relief from its status as a mandate under the Union of South Africa, which threatens extension of *apartheid* policies, is dramatically compelling. But no less consequential are the cries of others for assistance in earning independent status. The peoples convened in the United Nations are under scrutiny by a considerable portion of the world's inhabitants. They are looked to, in family councils, to provide some means for ending colonial oppression and political feudalism. What better means than, under charters already accepted, to keep promises long overdue?



The ILO'S Fortieth

BERNARD WIESMAN

FORTY YEARS AGO in Washington, on October 29, the first International Labor Conference brought together delegations of 29 founding-member nations. By the next year the organization had grown to 45 members, 20 being European countries. The United States joined in 1934, an early accomplishment of the Roosevelt administration. In 1959 for its 43rd session the International Labor Organization consisted of 80 countries, including 22 in the Western Hemisphere, 17 in Asia, and ten in Africa.¹

Having attained such a relatively venerable age and a nearly four-fold expansion, this sole survivor of the international institutions created at Versailles in 1919 might well have celebrated in really festive mood.² That the 1959 Conference could be described by one participant as the tensest of the past ten years, however, invites a penetrating examination of the ILO state

of mind. Why did a Session which opened with lofty intentions of eliminating a source of acrimony over voting rights for so-called employer delegates from the Soviet bloc within technical committees conclude with the "free employers," in the words of Ed Marciniak of the U. S. workers' delegation, "on the picket line and not in the committee rooms," demonstrating against the Conference's decision.³ The International Labor Organization which once yielded on including Fascists in the workers' group had yielded now to the Soviet government's demand for complete acceptance of its management people within the ranks of the employers. The "Free Employers" had promptly and stoutly rebelled.⁴

Before analyzing this basic controversy which could, but probably will not, destroy or completely transform the ILO, it is well to consider the significance of the unique character of the Organization. While universality of membership has been a stated goal of ILO policy, tripartitism had always been the one basic constitutional requirement which distinguished the ILO from all other intergovernmental bodies.

¹ R. Bosc, "Le 40ème anniversaire de l'O.I.T." *Révue de L'Action Populaire*, June, 1959.

² The anniversary was celebrated with proper dignity during the 43rd Session on June 15 in Geneva when a handful of veterans of the first session in Washington were guests of the Conference. To count 43 Sessions in 40 years, it may be noted, is not an arithmetical error. In addition to the usual annual session (omitted in 1940-43), there have been several maritime and other special conferences as well as a "special session" in New York in 1941.

³ "Employer Delegates 'Strike' ILO Finale," *AFL-CIO News*, July 4, 1959, p. 10.

⁴ *Labor Relations Letter*. Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Extra Issue, September, 1959.

Year

Established through the provisions of Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles, the ILO was declared in the preamble of its Constitution to be founded on the principles that "universal and lasting peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice . . ."; that "conditions of labor exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled; and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required" . . . and that "the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labor is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries. . . ." The General Conference, the Constitution declares, "shall be composed of four representatives of each of the Members, of whom two shall be Government delegates and two others shall be delegates representing the employers and the workpeople of each of the Members" (Art. 3-1). "The Members undertake to nominate non-governmental delegates and advisers chosen in agreement with the industrial organizations, if such organizations exist, which are most representative of employers and workpeople, as the case may be, in their respective countries" (Art. 3-5).

In 1944, the International Labor Conference adopted the Declaration of Philadelphia which was annexed to the Constitution to supplement the statement of purposes set forth in the Preamble. Two of the four fundamental principles spelled out in 1944 are:

1. Freedom of expression and of association are essential to sustained progress.
2. The war against want requires to be carried on with unrelenting vigor within each nation, and by continuous and concerted international effort in which the representatives of workers and employers, enjoying equal status with those of governments, join with them in free discussion and democratic decision with a view to the promotion of the common welfare.

This tripartite character is unique among public international organizations. Like the Resolution on the future Peace Congress, adopted by the American Federation of Labor on November 21, 1914,⁵ the document presented by Léon Jouhaux of the Confédération Générale du Travail to the Conference of Delegates of Allied Trade Unions at Leeds, England, July, 1916, called for labor clauses in the peace treaty to elim-

⁵ *The Origins of the International Labor Organization*. Edited by James T. Shotwell, Columbia University Press, New York, 1934. Vol. II, Document 1. See also Professor Shotwell's article "Recollections on the Founding of the ILO," *Monthly Labor Review*, June, 1959.

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inate competition based on unfair exploitation of labor.⁶ Samuel Gompers was President and Léon Jouhaux an outstanding member of the Peace Conference Commission on International Labor Legislation which met from February 1 to March 24, 1919. Both pressed for actual equality of voting among the representatives of governments, employers, and workers, but George N. Barnes, labor member of the British War Cabinet and Émile Vandervelde of the Belgian government emphasized the necessity of adequate government representation to assure government responsibility for implementing decisions of the Conference. The latter view prevailed.

At the first Conference, the demand of the labor spokesman was satisfied by the acceptance of the 1-1-1 ratio for voting within the committees of each Conference, except for the Selections Committee, which duplicates the composition of the Governing Body, and the Finance Committee of Government Representatives.

Tripartite at origin

The first Conference 40 years ago also gave effective recognition to the Workers' Group and the Employers' Group, though no reference to either is contained in the ILO Constitution. It was during the initial Conference that a permanent International Organization of Industrial Employers was created to provide the secretariat for the Employers' Group. The reconstituted International Federation of Trade Unions provided the same function for the Workers' Group.

Another demonstration of the immediate vitality of tripartitism occurred at the first Governing Body session held

at the close of the first Conference. The Employers' and the Workers' groups forced decisions to elect a Chairman and a Director General forthwith, and this despite the efforts of government delegates to delay action.⁷

As Bernard Beguin has well summarized:

Tripartitism in ILO was predicated on two assumptions: first that labor and management interests were independent of each other and of government . . . a reflection of the existing situation in Western, capitalistic, industrialized countries; and second, that governments, which have the ultimate responsibility for enforcing labor legislation, should not be outnumbered by the non-governmental groups⁸.



It is somewhat paradoxical that the tangible result of the tripartite character of the ILO has been some 114 International Labor Conventions which place upon each ratifying government an obligation to adopt and/or maintain specific standards of legislation and administration. Even the 112 Recommendations are statements of legislative and administrative goals for governments. Usually with considerable resistance from the Employers' Group, the Workers' Group with the cooperation of a majority of government delegates has pressed for such Conventions and Recommendations; with remarkable consistency, however, they have tempered

⁷ *Ibid.*, Volume I, pp. 316-7.

⁸ "ILO and the Tripartite System," a booklet in the *International Conciliation* series, published by the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace, New York, May, 1959, pp. 414-5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Document 3.

their demands to achieve generally acceptable and feasible provisions. As of June 1, the International Labor Office reported that a total of 1,857 ratifications had been officially registered.

Workers and employers alike have

Delegates' credentials challenged

freely challenged the credentials of delegates regarded by the complainants as being unrepresentative of the group. Interested readers may check the record in the Beguin book earlier cited. The crucial decision of the 1959 Conference, however, came on the issue of the autonomy of the non-governmental groups in managing their own affairs by majority vote, should they have failed to exclude individuals by challenging their credentials. Both the workers and the employers in 1954 challenged the credentials of their respective counterpart delegates from the Soviet bloc; they failed, however, to achieve the necessary two-thirds majority. The Workers' Group, already rather divided within itself, thereupon made a virtue of necessity and assigned the Soviet bloc delegates to selected committees where they have thus far been contained with reasonable success. The Employers' Group chose to proceed by majority vote to withhold committee appointments from any of the so-called employer's delegates of the Soviet bloc.

In so doing, the Employers' Group was following the course taken by the Workers' Group in 1926. After futile efforts for three years to secure a rejection of credentials of the delegate appointed by the Mussolini regime after consultation with the Fascist Corporation which enjoyed a total trade union monopoly, the Workers' Group lost; it then systematically ignored the Italian

delegate. To Léon Jouhoux's protestation at that time that "if the Conference were called upon to intervene in the appointment of members of Committees, it could not do so without infringing the autonomy of the groups," the Danish employer, Oersted, as spokesman for the employers, asserted that:

the autonomy of the groups was subordinate to the supreme authority of the Conference. It was the latter which should elect the Committees as was shown not only by the Standing Orders of the Conference but by Article 403 of the Treaty of Peace. Even if the Conference had not up to the present availed itself of the right, it always retained the right to do so.⁹

When the USSR joined the League of Nations in 1934, it automatically became a member of the ILO under the existing provisions of its Constitution. This was during the days of Popular Fronts and of increasing concern over the rise of Nazism. At that time the Employers' Group did not attempt to reject the man designated as the employers' delegate of the USSR but asked the Governing Body to consider the possible constitutional objections. The Governing Body, as is often its device, asked the International Labor Office, as secretariat for the organization, to make a study. It may be noted parenthetically, that the Office consists of "international civil servants" who possess an extraordinary flair for diplomatic rationalization.

The Office Report, submitted to the Governing Body in February, 1937, contained some interesting interpretations of the intent of the Constitution and of the Janus-like quality of a Soviet "employer":

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 423.

... The object of the separate representation of the Employers and Workers and that of the Government is not to express systematically opposite interests, but to coordinate points of view which are by reason of their very origin distinct, and to ensure the necessary adaptation of their interests. This conception is particularly true where the labor regime takes a socialist form or is otherwise brought under State control. Where the workers are employed in the service of the State, it is an official of the State who can and must represent the employers, for in that case the notion of the State and the notion of the employer are one and the same. This does not mean that Employers' delegates would have the same qualification as Government delegates; they would be acting within the limits of their own competence with a view to representing a definite interest of which the Constitution of the Organization takes account no matter what may be its status under national law.¹⁰

At a Governing Body session, in May, 1937, Harold Butler discussed the employer as the "work-giver" and the worker as the "work-taker," citing the respective terms in the German language. He doubted if their interests could ever be identical, even in a socialized state. The English politician cited many varieties of employers, saying they had one thing in common: they gave work in return for money. "All those who provided work for money were employers and their interests did not coincide with those of the persons whom they employed."¹¹ Butler apparently did not question whether their interests might coincide with those of the Government or of the Communist Party.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 422-3.

¹¹Cited by C. Wilfred Jenks, Assistant Director General and previously Legal Advisor, ILO, in *The International Protection of Trade Union Freedom*, published under the auspices of the London Institute of World Affairs by Stevens and Sons, Ltd., London, 1957, p. 117.

From these two statements seem to come much of the reasoning and even of the language of the opinion of the Credentials Committee majority in 1954. The majority also leaned on language found in the report of the Conference Delegation for Constitutional Questions in 1946. As is too often the case, the language was lifted without consideration of the circumstances under which it had been uttered. Few recall the Employers' Group's vain attempt in 1937 to put the question of its unanimous opinion of the unrepresentative character of the Soviet Employers' delegate to the Permanent Court for an advisory opinion, losing on a 7-8 vote.¹² Similarly the Governing Body's Committee in 1958-9 quoted the 1946 Conference Delegation for Constitutional Questions without recalling that in 1946 re-entry of the USSR to the ILO seemed exceedingly remote, that Communist Parties were participating in the governments of France and Italy, that non-communists were still permitted to take part in the governments of Czechoslovakia and Poland, and that the immediate problem was to dispose of proposals for specific recognition of representatives of socialized industries in states with mixed economies. One such proposal was for a 2-2-2 voting ratio with one of the employers' delegates to represent socialized industries and one of the workers' delegates to represent the minority trade union center; such an arrangement would also have permitted the entry of a CIO delegate alongside of the worker nominated by the AFL. Professor Dehousse of Belgium and Henri Hauck of France warned that only through such a device could "Big Five

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 118.

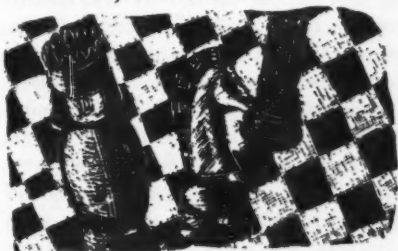
solidarity" be secured in support of the ILO. Otherwise, detractors could assert that the ILO "was turning its back on the realities of the modern world and was wedded to a liberal economy and the economic and social forces of the capitalist system."¹³

It is true that the Employers' Group in the 1946 Conference Delegation specifically recognized that the USSR would naturally appoint a representative of socialized management as employers' delegate, should it (as was generally and publicly hoped) re-enter the Organization. The writer recalls that Sir John Forbes-Watson as employers' spokesman told the Conference Delegation, however, that the Employers' Group would of course admit such an individual into its formal meetings but that it would only be natural for the group to dissolve into a private meeting of the legitimate employers as soon as there were issues to be discussed. Similarly, the writer recalls that no workers' delegates present offered any disagreement to the spirited assertion of the American workers' delegate, Robert J. Watt, that the Workers' Group had to protect the Employers' Group from encroachment by government lest the Workers' Group itself suffer similar attack on some later occasion.

Soviets rejoin

When the USSR rejoined the ILO in 1954, bringing along Byelorussia and the Ukraine and reviving the delinquent and hence temporarily voteless membership of Albania, Bulgaria, and Hungary, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions initiated challenges to the credentials of

the new Soviet bloc workers' delegates; the Employer's Group simultaneously challenged the new employer delegates. The three-man Credentials Committee, which normally includes representatives of the two groups, split 2-1, a Scandinavian workers' representative from an ICFTU affiliate joining the government representative, Oksnes of Norway, in rejecting the challenges. On the motion to reject the Soviet workers' credentials, the vote was 83-93-30 (*i.e.* 30 abstentions) with four votes of each of the five voting Soviet bloc countries in the negative. On the Employers' issue, the vote was 79-105-26, twenty-two government delegates having voted to reject with 71 opposed, 42 employers to reject against 7 (Soviet bloc plus Yugoslavia plus one other) to sustain, and 15 workers to reject and 27 to sustain the credentials.¹⁴ All four U. S. delegates voted to reject in both cases.¹⁵



At this point the Employers' Group pointedly omitted to nominate any of the so-called employers' delegates from communist countries to the technical committees wherein the language and form of Conventions and Recommendations are virtually determined. The Soviet bloc objected. Promptly the Selections Committee recommended and

¹³Beguin, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

¹⁴Jenks, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

¹⁵1954 International Labor Conference, U. S. Employer's Delegation Report, distributed by N.A.M., New York and the Chamber of Commerce of the U. S., Washington.

the 1954 Conference sustained—over the bitter protest of the Employers' Group—the designation of these individuals as substitute members of the Committees. In 1958 the Soviet bloc insisted on full membership and joined the free Employers' Group in voting against and defeating the compromise plan, holding that such limitations were intolerable. In January the Soviet Government sent notes to various governments represented on the Governing Body, saying it "could not tolerate" this situation.¹⁶

Compromise imperils tripartitism

Relief was near at hand. A Governing Body Committee had been appointed under the chairmanship of the representative of the Government of Italy, Roberto Ago, a university professor of charm and adaptability. Working closely with him as usual were the skillful experts from the Office. Despite Employer Group and last-minute U. S. Government opposition, the resultant formula was adopted by the Governing Body in its meeting in March. It was presented to the Conference in June. Professor Ago, noting that the issue had provoked "interminable discussion with emotional overtones" and that a large assembly often finds it difficult to take a wise decision, based on justice and equity, pleaded that the employers "make one little sacrifice more."

The Ago committee proposals may be summarized briefly. Each delegate shall be placed on the list of members of the committee for which he makes application. Certain members of the committees will be designated by their

group as the "voting section." Anyone aggrieved by exclusion from that section may appeal to the Conference which without debate will transmit the appeal to a Board of three independent persons from a panel of five persons previously appointed by the Conference for a period of three years. The Board's decision shall be final, being put into effect by the Conference without debate; the Board, however, may not add more than two to the voting section of any one committee.

The employers' delegate from Sweden, Mr. Bergenstrom, who had served on the Ago Committee, attacked the proposal, asserting that the Employers' Group refused to recognize the so-called employers' delegates from certain totalitarian countries not because they represent nationalized industries but because "they are not free to represent average standpoints of management without government interference nor to speak and vote freely without government control." He quoted Omer Becu, the International Transportworkers' Federation's General Secretary, who had attacked the Soviet workers' delegates at the Maritime Conference in 1958 as being government representatives. Bergenstrom admitted that Article 9 (d) of the Standing Orders had been adopted in 1932 to open up Committees of the Workers' Group to delegates from Fascist countries; and he conceded that his group had erred in 1932 at Geneva even as others erred at Munich in 1938. He quoted a USSR official statement which criticized ILO efforts concerning collaboration between employers and workers because it declared:

Discussions on the improvement of relations between employers and workers and for establishing mutual understanding between them are simply used by capital-

¹⁶*Provisional Record, International Labor Conference, 43rd Session, Geneva, No. 8, p. 68. Address by Mr. Shkunaev, USSR Government Delegate.*

ist employers to weaken the position of the working classes, to split their ranks and to paralyze their endeavors to defend their own interests.

A motion to refer back to the Governing Body for consideration was made by Father J. G. Stokman, O.F.M., veteran Government delegate from the Netherlands, and seconded by Maurice Bouladoux, President of the French Confederation of Christian Workers, as workers' delegate from France. It failed on a show of hands 113 to 126 with six abstentions.

A Soviet amendment to delete the provision restricting the Board from adding more than two persons to a committee failed 54-188-13. A record vote on the vital section III showed 141 votes in favor (including U. S. workers' delegate Rudolph Faupl) and 107 against, including the two U. S. government delegates and U. S. employers' delegate, Cola Parker. Sixteen abstained.

The Ago Committee had attempted to balance its proposals by permitting these voting sections, by a two-thirds majority, to cast their total voting power as a unit. This would have permitted the "free employers" to negate the two communist voting members imposed upon them; the Employers' Group consistently rejected this proposal, however, as completely against their traditions and principles. The proposal was rejected by the Conference, on a motion proposed by three Soviet bloc government delegations, the Free Employ-

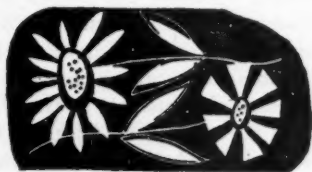
ers' Group voting with them for the reasons indicated. The U. S. government and workers' delegates supported the group-voting provision. The vote to reject was 122-119-23. The final vote on the proposal as amended was 137-112-12.

While the ILO has often resorted to devious forms of expediency, the Conference appears to have rivaled if not exceeded any previous sacrifice of principle. As adopted, the procedure is obviously a palliative which strikes at the essence of tripartitism, gives only temporary satisfaction to the Soviet bloc, and alienates the articulate spokesmen for free enterprise.

After all of the professions of Soviet spokesmen and their apologists in the debate on the right of Soviet management people to be accepted as employers within a tripartite system, it is significant to read in the issue of the official magazine *USSR* circulated in the United States in July [No. 7 (34)] an article by Boris Burkov, editor of the trade union publication *Trud*, which flatly states: "The Director of a Soviet factory is a representative of the Government."

The representative character of the Soviet workers' delegates was thus defined unabashedly by their spokesman, Mr. Pimenov: "The directorship of the trade unions by the party [previously identified as the Communist Party] is carried out by members of the party who are at the same time members of the trade unions."

The February, 1958 issue of the *World Trade Union Movement*, official organ of the World Federation of Trade Unions, composed exclusively of communist "trade unions," reported that a memorandum had been presented in December to Mr. David Morse, ILO Direc-



tor General, complaining of discrimination against representatives of unions affiliated with the WFTU. Particular objection was made to the exclusion of WFTU representatives from the Workers' Group in the Governing Body, elected triennially by the workers' delegates at the Conference:

... autonomy of the Groups only applies in matters of organization and procedure. It does not affect representation. . . . A Workers' Group cannot arrogate to itself the privilege of depriving this or that workers' representative of the right to take part in ILO bodies. . . .



This suggests that the Soviet bloc, having broken into the Employers' Groups in the technical committees of the Conference, may try similar tactics to invade the Workers' Group of the Governing Body, from which it has been excluded by the democratic process of secret ballots.

In the meanwhile the formation of a "Free Employers' Group," meeting separately in ILO conference rooms just as the Employers' Group had done previously, evoked prompt protests from Soviet representatives.

More significantly, the Free Employers' Group announced its decision no longer to participate in the technical committees. If this decision is maintained, a breakdown of the structure of the ILO as heretofore known is in-

evitable. It is safe to assume, however, that all the influence of the Office will be exerted to persuade the Employers' Group to desist from such nonparticipation. If necessary, another Ago Committee might be established!

Hungary rebuffed

A bright spot in the 40th year of the ILO was the flat rejection, for the second time, of the credentials of all four delegates of the present Hungarian regime. The reasoning followed the verdict of the U. N.: "one member State has imposed a government on another member State." In 1958 it had been an unprecedented action for an intergovernmental organization to spurn the credentials of government delegates named by a member government. The indignation of the world over the USSR's armed suppression of the Hungarian revolt and betrayal of the Nagy Government had been rekindled by the news of the callous execution of Imre Nagy and General Pal Maleter which had become public as the 42nd Session was convening. There was a question this June, however, of whether the ILO, which normally leaves political issues to the determination of the U. N., would repeat its rejection or, by accepting 1959 credentials from the government which it had repudiated in 1958, would appear now to withdraw its condemnation. As in 1958, the Free Employers' Group, the ICFTU, and the IFCTU reflected public indignation by demanding rejection. The United Kingdom Government and some other Governments vainly tried to have the issue held in abeyance, arguing that the ILO should leave the question to the U. N. The U. S. employers' delegate, Cola Parker, and the U. S. Government dele-

gate, Horace Henderson, as well as Hungarian-born U. S. workers' delegate, Rudolph Faupl, took effective part in this debate. The final vote was 145 for rejection of credentials, 70 against, and 38 abstentions, including 14 votes of 7 NATO governments.

It is said that some delegates were unhappy that the question of the Hungarian delegates and the employer voting issue should divert the Conference from its proper function and introduce controversial issues. A review of the history of the ILO would suggest, however, that the process of the creation of technical Conventions and Recommendations has rarely stirred the delegations of any country as much as has their awareness of the unique privilege of contributing towards the goal of social justice though "continuous and concerted international effort in which the representatives of workers and employers, enjoying equal status with those of governments, join with them in free discussion and democratic decision with a view to the promotion of the common welfare."¹⁷

In the long record of the ILO, the workers' repudiation of Fascism and Nazism took up the time of ILO Sessions from 1923 to 1938, even though the protests were partly muzzled by the provision of Standing Orders in 1932 which held as irreceivable any challenges to credentials on grounds previously advanced and not upheld.¹⁸ The rejection of the credentials of workers' delegates from Peronist Argentina in 1945 and from the dictatorship of Perez Jimenez in 1950 were decisions on political, not technical

grounds. "In both cases it was decided that the respective regimes had suppressed essential civil liberties and deprived workers of freedom of association, and that the delegates had not been chosen without any compulsion by workers' organizations enjoying freedom of association."¹⁹

If the ILO were to eliminate controversy from its deliberations, it is not unreasonable to assume that it would soon be a Conference of technicians warranting the time of few persons of importance.

Shared experience

It has been my opinion that the great contribution of the ILO has been the exchange of opinion and experience among decision-moulders or decision-makers within each of the three groups and the influence of this interplay of ideas among the three groups. This cannot be measured in a statistical table, not even by a flood of messages from heads of governments including Eisenhower and Khrushchev or by the impressive announcements that 38 Ministers, two Vice Presidents of great republics and 814 delegates and advisers participated this year.

Past Conferences undoubtedly helped to shape the opinions of an Ernest Bevin and a Senator Thomas, yet there is no evidence that they ever influenced a Shvernik or any of his successors who have sat in the tight phalanxes of Soviet bloc delegations and emerged from time to time to show themselves to the delegations and observers from Africa, Asia, and the Americas. Surely many a government official or employer or trade unionist has gone home from Geneva determined that next year he will

¹⁷*Constitution of the International Labor Organization, Annex I (d) (from the Declaration of Philadelphia).*

¹⁸Jenks, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-5.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 105.

have evidence of progress to report, and has labored hard to achieve such a record.

It should be admitted, however, that the posturing at the ILO sometimes seems to cover some insincerity which noble phrases fail to lessen; it also seems to cause some delegates to become so enamored of their prestige in Geneva that they forget their obligation to serve their constituencies at home. Some yield to the persistent pressure to spend a week-end at Caux where all problems are made to disappear under the soft solvent of Moral Re-Armament.

The Office

The International Labor Office's staff performs with extraordinary efficiency at Conferences and exerts an influence often beyond its technical functions. They are professionals, whereas most delegations are composed chiefly of novices. The authoritative "it can't be done" can be a virtual veto; the selection of Conference officers is usually engineered very deftly. Only about twice have there been contests for the Presidency of the Conference, an embarrassing consequence of poor planning. On some occasions political prestige at home wins the distinction for a newcomer, to the subsequent discomfort of delegates confused by his ineptness. Usually more skill is shown. The circumstances which made Senator Irving Ives President of the ILO Conference in 1953 certainly were not unrelated to the fact that an ILO official, formerly a member of President Truman's little Cabinet, was aware of the urgent usefulness of bipartisan sponsorship. That sponsorship was obtained.

It is similarly significant that the present top leadership of the Office has

been eager to shift ILO emphasis away from the formulation of Conventions and into field operations.

This year a resolution was introduced by G. L. Nanda, Indian Government delegate, and George Cabot Lodge, serving his first term as U. S. Government delegate. Appointed late in 1958 as Assistant Secretary of Labor in place of the since-deceased J. Ernest Wilkins of Chicago, Lodge was honored by selection as Chairman of the Resolutions Committee of the Conference. With no negative votes (despite 29 abstentions) the resolution was adopted, requesting the Governing Body to take all possible steps to increase its operational activities, having regard to other calls upon the resources available; it further recommended that member governments "consider the desirability of including in their requests for technical assistance and other operational aid from United Nations' sources additional projects designed to improve living standards in their countries . . ." in which projects the ILO is asked to give all appropriate aid. But even this language had been modified from the original and was accompanied by an understanding "that the resolution in no way implied a diminution of the normal activities of the Office."²⁰

In addition to the two-fold purpose of the ILO, of technical assistance and standard setting, described by Mr. Lodge in the July issue of *Foreign Affairs*, the Director General this year pressed his previous proposal that the ILO establish in Geneva an International Institute for Labor and Social Studies to operate as a select institution for promising careerists sharing a common "con-

²⁰*Provisional Record No. 31, appendices following p. 527, pp. VII and VIII.*

cern with labor policy in conditions of social and economic change."

Technical assistance

It may be noted that the ILO currently receives around \$3 million for technical assistance and educational projects from the United Nations Expanded Program of Technical Assistance in addition to the regular ILO operating budget, which for 1960 will total \$9,600,000, of which the United States contributes 25 per cent and the USSR 10 per cent, plus 1 per cent for the Ukraine and .45 per cent for Byelorussia. About one-half of this technical assistance generally is in the fields covered by ILO Conventions; the other half is in its well-publicized contribution to an increase of productivity in agriculture and industry, chiefly through vocational training projects sometimes in cooperation with other specialized agencies. The ILO will handle three projects, budgeted at \$205 millions for the new United Nations Special Fund, to assist India and Yugoslavia create instructor-training centers for the accelerated training of adults and to help Poland found a vocational training center for industrial and management personnel.

This work is conducted through the Secretariat and receives some compliments but relatively little attention in the deliberations of the Conference.

Much could be written of other aspects of the ILO which will receive brief mention here.

Industrial Committees, instituted largely through the influence of Ernest Bevin, have alarmed the employers, given concern to governments, and won the emotionally determined support of the workers. Objectively, it appears that

they have fallen far short of Bevin's enthusiastic hopes; nevertheless, they have been supported most vigorously by the international trade secretariats, such as the International Transportworkers Federation with which Bevin was identified. These secretariats find the Committees valuable tools for advancing free trade unionism along craft and industrial lines. A Soviet bloc resolution asking that the principle of universality be verified in the composition of these Committees resulted in referral, without endorsement or disapproval, to the Governing Body.

Regional Conferences likewise have been emotionally sought and enthusiastically undertaken, with the first one for Africa soon to be held. Yet while they have stimulated some feeling of special consideration and of local pride, they have never been equipped with authority or tools to translate world standards into regional models. Instead, they often have been diverted to local political issues or to virtual demands for regional patronage. Perhaps one difficulty is that the countries of hardly any area, even Africa, are sufficiently homogeneous in stage of industrialization or social institutions to permit the setting of any really specific standards.

Investigations

Investigation of complaints concerning infringement of freedom of association has been conducted through a Governing Body Committee for about ten years. Its findings concerning Venezuela were of substantial influence; the publication this year of its findings upon the ICFTU complaint against the USSR was inevitably unpalatable to that country. Use of such machinery instead of the usual cumbersome report-

ing procedure on the observance of Conventions has involved the ILO in much political hot water but generally has been one of the ILO's most practical contributions to social justice.²¹

Currently, the ILO is undertaking a study of industrial relations in the United States and one in the USSR, and this upon the official invitation of each government.

Even more fundamental was its monumental investigation, in cooperation with the United Nations, conducted by an *ad hoc* Committee on Forced Labor. Headed by Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar of India and with Paal Berg of Norway and Enrique Sayan of Peru as members, the Committee examined evidence on the network of slave labor camps in the USSR and satellite nations; the effort represented a signal achievement of the international conscience. The writer recalls that the Office showed no great eagerness to assume the task until the leading members in the Governing Body had secured an authorizing resolution and until the ILO had been "invited" by the Economic and Social Council in March, 1951, to proceed with the investigation first requested by the American Federation of Labor on November 24, 1947. The Committee Report, issued on May 27, 1953, was a rare achievement of practical and objective determination of fact and courageous statement of findings.²²

It is reasonable to assume that its publication and endorsement by the ILO and the U. N. greatly influenced the Kremlin and encouraged the apparent post-Stalin transformation of forced labor institutions into something less

brutal and economically more efficient. It also may have helped to instigate the USSR's apparently sudden decision in 1954 to re-enter the ILO.

Ambiguous Soviet stand

No one outside of the Kremlin knows why the USSR, after 15 years of ignoring or excoriating the ILO, should suddenly have taken advantage of the Constitutional provision drafted in 1946 to permit any U. N. member to join the organization upon acceptance of the obligations under its Constitution. The USSR had ceased to participate in the ILO when it was expelled from the League of Nations for its peace-loving attack upon Finland in 1939. While its membership in the ILO had followed its entry into the League, precedent made it clear that exit from the League did not automatically sever ties with the ILO. Yet no approaches by ILO or member governments could elicit from the USSR any indication whether or not it considered itself still a member. Even very high-level personal approaches to Premier Stalin won no response other than occasional rumbling against the structure of the ILO. Coaxing failed to bring any USSR participation in the historic 1944 Conference in Philadelphia, where the postwar role of the ILO was to be shaped, far in advance of the United Nations founding Conference in San Francisco. Even the public efforts of a few ardent ILO champions among the founding members of the World Federation of Trade Unions could not persuade the then head of the Russian trade union front and present Deputy Foreign Minister, Vassily Kuznetsov, and his colleagues to permit any reference to the ILO in the WFTU Constitution or resolutions adopted in London in January, 1945. The formula

²¹Jenks, *op. cit.*, p. 187, pp. 417-23.

²²United Nations Document E/2431 (No. 36 in the Studies and Reports of the ILO).

adopted by the ILO Constitutional Delegation in London in 1946 was intended to avoid the embarrassment either of an invitation, which probably would be indignantly spurned, or of apparent hostility of ILO members, which would invite denunciation by the communist apparatus and its then widespread Russophile following. At that time none could foresee the day of Soviet acceptance of membership in an organization which in 1954 was thriving without the presence of Soviet vetos or demands.

ILO activities on Freedom of Association and Forced Labor probably stimulated action by the successors to Stalin. It should be noted, however, that the Soviets' re-entry into the ILO was only part of the sudden decision to rejoin other international bodies and of the broad campaign to promote trade union unity, united front tactics, and aggressive salesmanship in place of the belligerent isolationism which had reached its peak in the USSR's lengthy and costly boycott of U. N. organs in 1950.

How can the USSR be a valid member of a tripartite organization dedicated to social justice and economic reform? Those who hold class conflict to be inevitable can hardly see much value in promoting cooperation between equal partners in industry, the premise on which the ILO is largely predicated. In one committee at the 1959 Conference the government representative of the USSR questioned the utility of an international instrument of labor management collaboration since, in his opinion, such an instrument "led to a weakening of the workers' resistance to the employers' attempt to lower their living standards and to curtail their

rights."²³ This rejection of the tripartite approach seems to indicate that USSR participation in the ILO has motives other than those considered in 1919 and 1946 to be the basic aims of ILO membership.

American attitudes

While American enthusiasm for the ILO is limited in scope, all three participating elements—government, labor, and employers—consider their roles to be essential in the public interest, as each sees it, and all three recognize the ILO as a forum where democratic principles of the autonomy of labor and management must be defended. Many make real sacrifices to attend.

Apart from the effect of the adoption of higher standards in other countries in reducing foreign trade competition based on exploited labor, no American group expects to get direct, tangible benefits either from the standards setting of the Conventions or from the technical assistance of ILO experts. Americans expect to be giving rather than getting guidance; they are also aware that in the ILO today others are eager to supply any leadership we fail to provide.

On one point we are customarily on the defensive. We have ratified only seven Conventions, all except one procedural instrument being in the maritime area. Space does not permit adequate discussion of this point. The writer can testify that the language of the present Constitution regarding the obligations of federal states is what the U. S. Government successfully sought to obtain in 1946. Contrary to the fears expressed by proponents of the Bricker Amendment that the ratifica-

²³*Provisional Record*, No. 29, p. 2.

tion of an ILO Convention could increase the scope of federal power, the exposition of our position at the Constitutional Delegation for Constitutional Questions in New York on Memorial Day of 1946 was entirely predicated upon the interpretation that no expansion of federal jurisdiction could be achieved through the treaty process, that, on the contrary, ratification could only be undertaken in areas where federal authority already exists under the Constitution of the United States.

The revised ILO Constitution provides that a federal State has the same obligation as other members to consider ratification of Conventions or Recommendations which it regards as appropriate under its constitutional system for federal action; its duty, however, is fulfilled by effectively referring, for the enactment of legislation or other action, such documents "which the federal government regards as appropriate under its constitutional system, in whole or in part, for action by the constituent states . . . rather than for federal action." It must arrange for periodical consultations, inform the ILO of the referral undertaken and resultant action and report, at appropriate intervals as requested, on each such Convention which it has not ratified, "the position of the law and practice of the federation and its constituent states, showing the extent to which effect has been given, or is proposed to be given, to any of the provisions of the Convention by legislation, administrative action, collective agreement or otherwise."²⁴

In 1946 it was confidently expected that the United States would welcome and utilize this unique provision for evidencing social progress toward the

goals set forth in Conventions, progress which is made through collective agreements between labor and industry. The British employers' representative was particularly eager to re-enforce the obligation to apply the principles set forth in Conventions which federal governments considered outside the scope of their ratifying authority.²⁵

The ILO has adopted four major Conventions in recent years which the United States voted for in Conference but has deemed not appropriate for ratification: Convention 87, Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize, 1948; Convention 98, Right to Organize and Collective Bargaining, 1949; Convention 105, Convention of the Abolition of Forced Labor, 1957; and Convention 111, concerning Discrimination in Employment and Occupation, 1958.

Both for the prestige and the sense of responsibility of a participating federal state member of the ILO, it might be definitely useful if such a member were permitted or even required to consider for ratification those aspects of a Convention which are deemed appropriate for federal action. However, Wilfred Jenks' recent book indicates that this authoritative official regards any sort of reservation, except these specifically authorized within a Convention, to be unacceptable. He offers several reasons, including the multilateral character and tripartite formulation of the document; he cites precedents from League of Nations days, all of which, perhaps significantly, were prior to the 1946 revision of the Constitution which for the first time introduced the recognition that some matters may be partly

²⁴*Constitution of the ILO*, Art. 19-7.

²⁵Bernard Wicaman, "Proposals of Amendment of ILO Constitution," *Department of State Bulletin*, June 16, 1946.

within the authority of the federal government and partly outside.

In any event, the U. S. Government delegation, while generally required as a matter of policy to vote that ILO standards should be in the form of Recommendations rather than Conventions, may vote for or against the final document according to the merits of its substance, even if in Convention form.

Some viewers with alarm have pictured the ILO as a dangerous purveyor of socialism and even communism. Is there any basis for such fear?

It is true that the ILO tends to approach social problems as matters to be dealt with by the governments which are its members. Some of its delegates and some of its staff are Socialists and even Communists, of course, just as some others are Falangists; the vast majority are middle-of-the-roaders, sincerely seeking to introduce into the industrial world some standards of social justice. Among its staunchest supports from 1919 have been the leaders of the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions. From its beginnings the ILO has had on its staff a Catholic priest. There was the distinguished and knowledgeable Père André Arnou, brought to once-Calvinist Geneva by the first Director General, the French Socialist Albert Thomas. He was succeeded by the devout and kindly Père Albert LeRoy, S.J., whose post was filled, upon his retirement a couple of years ago, by Père Joseph Joblin, S.J. It is ironical that the diplomatic immunity of an ILO functionary permitted these Jesuits to work in Switzerland whose Constitution has a clause discriminating against Jesuits.

As Pius XII declared in special audience for the Governing Body of the

ILO on November 19, 1954 at Castel Gondolfo:

The International Labor Organization has not tried to represent one social class alone, or to become the vehicle of any single trend. It welcomes whatever is constructive, whatever meets the real needs of a balanced society, and that is why Our predecessor, Pius XI, did not hesitate to draw attention to the remarkable resemblance between the principles set forth in the *Labor Charter* and those of the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*.²⁶

The Most Reverend François Charrière, Bishop of Fribourg, Lausanne and Geneva, told the congregation in the Basilica of Notre Dame in Geneva, commemorating the 40th anniversary of the ILO: "it is not an exaggeration to say that its birth marks a turning in the history of the world."²⁷ His Excellency pointed out that conventions adopted by the ILO do not concern the rights of states but rather their obligations with respect to all individual persons.

As Bishop Charrière reminded his listeners on the 14th of June, "The Christian is obligated to cooperate in the activity of international institutions." Otherwise, we leave the machinery which could promote social justice available for the materialists to manipulate for perverse purposes. The 40th year of the ILO has dramatized the decision to be reached. Will the ILO be desensitized into a highly publicized center for technical training, or will it survive as a challenger of consciences, a shaper of standards, and a stimulator of human effort for the pursuit of both material well-being and spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security, and equal opportunity?

²⁶*Catholic Mind*, 53 (February, 1955) pp. 114-5.

²⁷*Le Courrier*, Geneva, June 15, 1959, p. 1.

Books

FATHER OSWALD von NELL-BREUNING, S.J.

Walter Kerber, S.J.

Father Kerber, a young Jesuit economist, studied for several years in the United States.

WHENEVER SOCIAL PROBLEMS are discussed in Western Germany sooner or later someone will mention the name of Father Oswald von Nell-Breuning. It may be in the conference halls of government agencies; the talk may be merely between two strangers in a railroad car; or it may be between union officials or university students.

Everyone will acknowledge his competence and listen with interest. This includes Protestants as well as Catholics, the Socialists as well as the neo-liberals—even those who afterwards strongly disagree with him. Some people have come to regard him as a kind of oracle on the social doctrine of the Catholic Church, something he would be the last to claim. For he readily admits that in the past he has had to modify his stand on some issues.

It was not so much his activity as a speaker and lecturer at conventions of all sorts that gave Von Nell-Breuning such impressive influence but rather his prolific writing. Americans mainly know him for his commentary on *Quadragesimo Anno*, a book considered so dangerous by the Nazis that they banned it.¹

Unfortunately the rest of his work is relatively unknown in the U. S. The

latest bibliography of his writings lists 742 publications, book reviews not included, ranging from small pamphlets through monographs to whole parts of encyclopedias. Even he himself is not quite sure how many more articles he may have forgotten or has not been able to retrieve. For ten years, the Nazi rule forced literary silence upon him; since the war, he has seemed to try to make up for this loss by an even greater literary output.

Our modern society urgently needs reform. It was this message of the Popes that in the 1920s prompted the young Jesuit Father to devote himself to social questions.

What should a Christian social order look like and how can it be established in the modern world? For a solution of these questions sound philosophical principles are as necessary as are a thorough knowledge of the facts of modern social and economic life. Heinrich Pesch with his system of Solidarism had tried a provisional answer on the basis of scholastic philosophy. Father Von Nell-Breuning set out to continue this work.

He took up the more philosophical task of analyzing modern society in its many aspects and forms when he was called to cooperate in the edition of many encyclopedias. He wrote key articles for the *Staatslexikon* of the German *Görres-Gesellschaft* in the twenties.

¹ *The Reorganization of Social Economy*. Translated by Bernard Dempsey, S.J., Bruce, Milwaukee, 1937.

Again, he wrote many articles on social questions for the *Grosse Herder encyclopedia* in the thirties, also in the forties for Herder's *Philosophisches Wörterbuch*.

In Japan a *Catholic Encyclopedia* has just been completed.² Father von Nell-Breuning collaborated as editor of the articles on social questions when he could no longer publish in Nazi Germany. His contributions to this last encyclopedia appeared also in German in several separate fascicles after the war and should be consulted by anybody who wants to get a deeper understanding of Catholic social principles and social philosophy.³

Lofty principles and ideals are not enough; one must show how they solve the pressing problems of today. Starting from our present situation, how can we achieve the desired social order?

Philosopher of the concrete

The postwar situation in Germany did not permit Fr. von Nell-Breuning to engage in leisurely speculation. The greater part of his writings consists of analyses of current problems in the light of Christian social philosophy. This material has now been made available by Herder of Freiburg who have collected about 100 of his most significant postwar articles in two volumes.⁴

Not all articles contained in this work book are of equal interest to the American reader. Many of the topics discussed, however, are of universal significance: the distinguishing mark

of a *Christian* social order, true and false interpretations of the principle of subsidiarity, the morality of a strike in a democratic order, the function of private property in the modern world according to the social encyclicals, questions of co-management. The list indicates some of the leading ideas of this Jesuit thinker.



When Germany began rebuilding her economy, totally wrecked by Nazi mismanagement and the war, there was the opportunity for a completely new start. A start in what direction? Many Catholics were convinced that only a firm state control for many years could avoid disaster; and even men who would not sympathize with the program of the strong Social Democratic Party held this view. The Western powers, on the other hand, especially the American Military Government, favored free enterprise.

At the first meeting of the Board of Scientific Advisers of the Economic Administration Fr. von Nell-Breuning suggested trying a market economy—if for no other reason than simply to show Germany's friends abroad her willingness to learn and to cooperate. This turned out to be the right solution: the mere liberalization of the economy gave rise to a remarkable turn for the better. Later Professor Erhard's *Soziale Marktwirtschaft* became a slogan signifying Germany's greatest prosperity.

But there was danger that economists, as well as the general public, would misinterpret the facts and give all the

² Katorikku-Daitjiten, Tokyo, 1940 sqq.

³ *Beiträge zu einem Wörterbuch der Politik*, Oswald von Nell-Breuning and Herman Sacher, editors, Herder, Freiburg, 1947-1951.

⁴ *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft heute*, Herder, Freiburg, 2 vols., 898pp.

credit to free enterprise and economic liberty. A strong school of neo-liberalism, no longer *laissez-faire*, but still inadequate, tried to re-establish itself as the leading social theory. There was a danger, in Father von Nell-Breuning's judgment, that not a new and better social order would emerge out of the ruins; but the old liberal Capitalism again, pure and simple.

Hence the Jesuit economist's insistence on the element of social obligation in the "Social Market Economy." Free competition is not an end in itself. It is a valuable, powerful tool for economic progress, but it can not serve as the ultimate principle of the social structure. Neo-liberalists have come to concede an economic activity and influence to the state in order to guarantee the conditions necessary for a competitive market but this is not enough. Reality is much more complex than their model which overlooks the qualitative and thus typically *social* aspects of economic life. They show much concern for the social consequences of economic measures, but this more in spite of their system and for the wrong reason. They would counteract prolonged unemployment, for example, for the reason that it leads to social disaster which in turn would bring about the end of freedom. As long as such pragmatism persists, as long as policy is not based on a sound conception of man, concludes Father von Nell-Breuning, neo-liberal doctrine will remain unacceptable to Catholics, even though both groups may in practice strive for similar ends.

Some 25 years ago Pope Pius XI called for a new structure of society. One of his key suggestions was an order of society no longer centered around the

labor market, but structured according to the natural groupings of the different types of employment. This idea, known in the U.S. as *Industry Council Plan*, in Germany as *Berufsständische Ordnung* (Vocational Order of Society) has been interpreted in many different ways, some of them quite contrary to Papal teaching. Father Von Nell-Breuning notes five general misinterpretations of the Papal idea, one of them political, four of them economic. (The Papal suggestion, it should be noted, concerns primarily the structure of society, not the structure of the state or of the economy.)

The *political* misinterpretation may best be exemplified by Mussolini's Fascist state in which the political parties were replaced by corporative groups. This is a distortion because the social order of the Pope is not only compatible with a genuine democracy; it even demands and supports it. The Papal Order is incompatible with the corporative state precisely because this state is centralistic and undemocratic.

Among the *economic* misinterpretations four types can be distinguished:

1. An *archaistic* interpretation, as if the Pope intended to turn the wheel of history backwards and to renew the old guild-system, justly abolished for its later abuses. Such an interpretation needs no further comment.

2. An *administrative* interpretation, as if the program were merely a scheme to bring capital and labor together in a joint board and to endow this board with official authority. Such a joint council may or may not be a good idea under certain circumstances; it is certainly not the plan of the encyclical; *Quadragesimo Anno* seeks to overcome this division of society into the two

classes of the labor market, not its perpetuation in joint institutions.

3. A *cartellistic* interpretation which uses the name of the Pope to justify monopolistic interest. To this calumny Father Von Nell-Breuning says bluntly: "The Vocational Groups (called *ordines* in Q. A.)—be they economic or non-economic—will either restore the possibility of genuine competition, which has been largely lost nowadays in the age of monopolistic Capitalism, or they will not exist."

4. The *centralistic-collectivistic* interpretation which would use the Vocational Groups as tools to execute a planned economy. This seems to be the worst form of a planned economy. Any careful reader of Q. A. should realize that the solution of the Pope did not lie in this direction.

Positively, the essence of the Papal Order consists in an application of the principle of subsidiarity not to regional but to functional differences and divisions. As local and regional communities and groups take care of their own affairs by their own administration, so also those groups that make a common contribution by their work should constitute themselves as a joint group in order to solve their common problems on their own level instead of turning them over to the state. In other words, it is a functional federalism that is advocated by *Quadragesimo Anno*.

Another problem preoccupying the Jesuit economist has been the division of modern society into two classes—on the one side the owners of the means of production, on the other the workers, dependent on their wages for a living. The destruction of the German factories in World War II presented a unique opportunity to overcome this inequality. Why not, asked Father Von

Nell-Breuning make the worker co-owner of the factories which he helped to reconstruct?

In an article in 1947 and later in a memorandum presented at a hearing of the Federal Ministry of the Economy, Father Von Nell-Breuning advocated concrete ways and means by which the workers could become co-owners. Management at that time felt justified in refusing the demand of the trade unions for higher wages, since higher wages would lead to inflation. Higher wages at that time would have undoubtedly meant a higher demand for consumptive goods. The situation demanded that the greater proportion of the social product consist of capital goods; investment was traditionally the job of the entrepreneur.



It should not prove impossible, argued Father von Nell-Breuning, to induce the workers to use part of their increased wages not for the acquisition of more goods of consumption but for investment in stocks and bonds, provided that the benefit of such an investment is made clear to them by instruction and explanation. To the degree the workers are willing to invest, a wage increase ("investment wage") could be granted in addition to their basic wage ("consumptive wage") without disturbing the equilibrium of supply and demand on the market of consumptive goods. Thus the possible

level of wages is determined by the future use of the wage income. The worker may receive a higher total income without the threat of inflation.

It was impossible at the time to spread this idea widely enough. The trade unions failed to cooperate, fearing to lose their following among the "workers turned capitalists." Instead, the fiscal policy of the government favored re-investment of profits. The manufacturers had to sell at higher prices in order to invest in the necessary capital goods. This investment which between 1948 and 1953 amounted to some 60 billion DM (\$14 billion) was paid by the consumer, with the former shareholders richly reaping its benefit in higher values of his assets. The division of classes into capitalists with capital-income and workers with only their wage-income re-emerged.

These are a few of the main lines of Father von Nell-Breuning's thought. In his sober reasoning there is an undertone of ardent search for social reform, all the more necessary in West Germany because the communists have already enacted their type of reform in the Eastern part of the country. They have a clear idea of what they are fighting for. Does the West have an equally clear idea? Says Father von Nell-Breuning: "It is not true that it is hunger which makes man vulnerable to communism, and it is even less true that satiety and prosperity make him immune to the seduction of communism. Among all things, laid in human hands, only one really counts: social justice, the conviction of man that the existing order is not designed for the special privileges of a minority but that it presents in actual reality what communism fallaciously only promises."

CAN CAPITALISM COMPETE? By Raymond W. Miller. Ronald Press, New York, 264 pp. \$4.50

FOUNDATIONS OF CAPITALISM. By Oliver C. Cox. Philosophical Library, New York, 500 pp. \$7.50

The sort of competition to which Mr. Miller refers in the title of his book is not the rivalry of the market place but the contest between the advocates of reasonable economic freedom and the apostles of statism for the allegiance of the newly awakened underdeveloped countries. The author regards this contest as crucial to the outcome of the massive struggle going on between the West and the Soviet bloc.

Mr. Miller's object is to bring the people of the underdeveloped countries to understand, appreciate, and accept the modern American type of capitalism. He realizes that you cannot perfectly reduplicate it abroad but its fundamental principles, he argues, can be incorporated into the economies of other nations.

In pursuit of this object, Mr. Miller explains why capitalism is so badly misunderstood in Asia and Africa and he describes, in considerable detail, what can be done to make it better understood. He emphasizes what can be done by the private citizen either by himself or in cooperation with other private citizens.

Mr. Miller's ideas are derived mainly from extensive personal experience in every corner of the globe. What he writes of he has seen or heard. His is not mere arm-chair speculation. This book should be a welcome addition to the library of everyone interested in economic development or the fight against communism.

The work of Professor Cox is of an entirely different character. It takes us far from the current struggle between the West and communism to the markets and business establishments of Medieval and Renaissance Venice, Florence, Genoa, London, Antwerp, and Luebeck, to mention

only the major cities covered in this study.

In the opinion of this reviewer, the title of this book is misleading. While it will furnish the reader with many interesting facts of economic history, it will not provide him with an understanding of the foundations of capitalism. One probable reason for this is that the author tries to accomplish too much. He tries to prove a number of propositions but succeeds in proving none. He generalizes freely and, like most historical generalizations, his too are patent *non-sequiturs*.

Since the author is a sociologist, we expect to find the text fortified generously with sociological jargon. We are not disappointed. Moreover, the book contains numerous statements of questionable validity, beginning with the author's concept of capitalism.

CORNELIUS A. ELLER, S.J.
Le Moyne College
Syracuse, N. Y.

THE SPARTACIST UPRISING AND THE CRISIS OF THE GERMAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT: A Study of the Relations between Political Theory and Political Practice. By Eric Waldman. Marquette University Press, Milwaukee, 248 pp. \$8

This is a study of one of the most interesting incidents in German history: the uprising of the extreme Left against the government of the moderate German Social Democrats in January, 1919. The Leftists had founded a "Spartacist League" which was merged with the subsequently established "Communist Party of Germany". Waldman feels that the Russian Bolsheviks had no direct part in the formation of this group; their only representative was Karl Radek who could do little more than underline the "formal solidarity which existed between German and Russian revolutionaries." The views of the Spartacist leaders Liebknecht and Luxemburg differed, in fact, from those of the Bolsheviks. Rosa Luxemburg, in particular, opposed Lenin's concept of a highly organized party; she also rejected terror as an instrument of policy.

There was no systematic preparation for a seizure of power similar to the Bolshe-

vist coup of November, 1919. When the armed clash between these Leftists and the government occurred, it was triggered by an unanticipated incident, the dismissal of a left-wing chief of police. The popular demonstrations, then called, had an unexpected success; they seemed to call for revolutionary action. This was improvised and failed. In its suppression the Socialist government relied upon the remnants of the old army as well as upon formations of volunteers, some of them strongly Rightist.

Professor Waldman describes these events in detail and places them skillfully into the context of the history of German Socialism. The book reads well, and, one must add, is printed well. It is a significant contribution not only to German history but also to the study of socialism and communism in general.

The point on which this reviewer would differ from the author concerns the interpretation of these events. The Spartacists were, to be sure, not Leninists but it does not follow that, had Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg not been killed, there would have been no truly Communist party in Germany. Such a party was "in the cards" and did not depend upon a particular group of leaders. On the other hand, it need not have become as powerful as it did. Professor Waldman feels that the suppression of this left-wing uprising with the help of the army and the Rightists weakened the German Socialist movement and helped the rise of "Nazi Fascism".

The Ebert government had, however, no choice but to apply such military power as it could marshal against an armed uprising whose plain purpose was to prevent free elections. The mistake of the Socialists was not the use of force but their failure to supplement it with political power. Lenin and his followers knew that political action has its own dynamics and that it can be successful only on the basis of a certain type of political organization. For Lenin this was "the organizational weapon" — the centralized party with totalitarian tendencies.

Democracy has an "organizational weapon" of its own. In this case its sharpest point would have been elections under the majority system of voting. The detailed

statistical studies by Dr. Johannes Schauff have demonstrated that such elections would have kept the German Communists sufficiently under pressure to prevent them from undermining the Republic; they would have placed the German Right under similar pressure. Part of the reason there was so much division during the Weimar Republic was the system of voting which encouraged divisions and led to their aggravation.

FERDINAND A. HERMENS,
Notre Dame University

THE SOCIOLOGICAL IMAGINATION.

By C. Wright Mills. Oxford, New York.
234 pp. \$6

Over the past ten years C. Wright Mills has built for himself an admirable professional reputation as a sociologist. The announcement of this book, then, gave this reviewer an expectation of something really great to come. As it turns out, the imagination working here is dim.

The author seems very intent upon placing himself among the ranks of the anti-Parsonians. There seems to be great play among contemporary sociologists: one gains high status by being very vocally either for or against this Parsons. Almost 50 of the nearly 300 pages in the book set Parsons up to knock him sharply down. There is a notable feeling of achievement in thus being able to "translate the 555 pages of [Parson's] *Social System* into about 150 pages of straightforward English." Unlike Parsons, however, Mills doesn't indicate what to do with the translation.

The next set of chapters, comprising about 100 more pages, seeks to do mainly two things: blast the neo-positivists, especially Paul Lazarsfeld, criticizing them for their concern with statistical formulae, interest in voting habits, their expending energy in correlating these with a variety of other human habits, and the methodology emphasized in this. The other thing that Mills tells the profession is that "the confusion in social science is moral as well as 'scientific', political as well as intellectual. Attempts to ignore this fact are among the reasons for the continuing confusion."

Of course the negative criticism suggests that there is a positive way out. In spite of the growing number of Parsonians today, the increasing number of texts, classes and concern with methodology, all need not be in crisis. The constructive side of Mills shines through in his suggesting more use of biograms, i.e., the use of individual case studies to show their implications for and in changing socio-cultural constructs.

Methodologically the sociologists should collect these as extensively, I presume, as possible, file them in chosen categories, and every now and then toss these files on the floor and reshuffle them. This creates a need for 'rethinking' one's categories and begets the act of scientific creativity. Meanwhile he eschews statistics, team research, and foundations. This is in somewhat skeptical language the burden of Mill's constructive program for reactivating social science and taking the moral and intellectual confusion out of sociologists. This is the epitome of "Intellectual Craftsmanship."

Unless my interpretation of C. Wright Mills' meaning is far off-key, the *Sociological Imagination* is something of a restatement of one type of theory, the type referred to by Sorokin and Timasheff as Structure-Function Analysis. And it might be suggested that Mills does much better professionally in engaging the "Academic Mind" and informing the American reading mind using this theory how to analyze "White Collar" workers and "Power Elites" than he does in criticizing other American theorists or their methods.

The *Sociological Imagination* also represents another type of book, the type that somehow or other just grows. Sections of it have appeared in one form or another in various journals. This might indicate a practical explanation of its oversimplified dismissal of the relatively intricate theory of Parsons *et al.*, the somewhat breezy contempt for statistical and mathematical models, and the "handbook" style of presentation rather whimsically entitled "Intellectual Craftsmanship."

JOS. F. SCHEUER, C.P.P.S.
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New York City

LABOR U.S.A. By Lester Velie, Harper, New York, xv, 318 pp. \$4.95

The author conceives the people in the labor movement as a sociological group typical of any in the American scene—no better, no worse. Many on the side of labor will criticize the book as anti-labor because it contains too much of the recent exposures of the McClellan Committee. Their counterparts will judge the author to be one of the "bleeding hearts" who fail to see the real evil of the labor movement and its threat to the American-way-of-life. It is a book that has something for everyone and not enough for the partisan. It is written in the breezy style of the journalist and makes very interesting, light reading for the masses. It is an expansion of a series of articles written by the author for the *Reader's Digest*. Jimmy Hoffa and the Teamsters are the main object of the author's attention although other unions do not escape his sharp pen and pointed barbs. There are added chapters on the AFL-CIO merger and an attempt is made to give thumbnail sketches of such people as George Meany, Walter Reuther, John L. Lewis, David Dubinsky, Philip Murray and others "who give Labor USA its special flavor."

Of particular merit is chapter 16, "Labor U.S.A. vs. The Kremlin." This high encomium paid to labor for its fight against communism will come as a surprise to many and a great shock to the anti-labor forces in the country.

Although the reader may not agree with the author in all things, no one will say that he has failed to provide interesting and entertaining reading.

ANDREW C. BOSS, S.J.
Labor-Management School
University of San Francisco

THE ROOTS OF CAPITALISM. By John Chamberlain. Van Nostrand, New York. xiv, 222 pp. \$5.50

THE EVOLUTION OF A CONSERVATIVE. By William Henry Chamberlin. Regnery, Chicago. 295 pp. \$4.50

Both of these authors have enjoyed success as journalists, correspondents, lecturers and critics. The former is a fre-

quent contributor to the financial journals and to some of America's leading magazines. The latter has had a distinguished newspaper career and has frequently contributed editorials to *The Wall Street Journal*.

The Roots of Capitalism is essentially a history of economics and of economists. It represents a survey of the intellectual forces and practical accomplishments that have created American capitalism. Economic ideas are placed against the political backdrop of the men who have influenced economic thought and development. Political philosophers (Hobbes and Locke), economists (Adam Smith, Ricardo, Malthus, Say, and Francis Walker!), and innovating businessmen (Henry Ford) are cited for their contributions to the development of capitalism. The author shows a "mature preference for the uncoerced man," praising men and institutions which have promoted such an unfettered atmosphere. On the other hand, he has written a running critique of thinkers such as Robert Owen, Karl Marx, and John M. Keynes who theorized about planned or dictatorial economic systems. Mr. Chamberlin regards property ownership as the cornerstone of individual freedom. In support of his view he quotes John Locke extensively but overlooks St. Thomas Aquinas and papal teaching on the subject. In his historical treatment of English developments he inclines toward the Whig historians, such as Trevelyan. Except for a passage in which he quotes Russell Kirk with approval there is no evidence that the author wants his "uncoerced man" to be responsible or to have a social consciousness.

All in all, Mr. Chamberlain has produced a highly readable blend of history, biography and economics which is enlivened with unusual bits of information and charming quotations from his characters.

The Evolution of a Conservative is autobiographical. It traces the transformation of a liberal "fellow traveler" into a full fledged conservative. These terms are used in their political, not in their economic, sense.

This is the account of a newspaper man whose "beat" has been the whole world

or large portions thereof. This is a man whose cumulative experiences have led to his current position—a political conservatism based upon the writings of Edmund Burke, Alexis de Tocqueville and the framers of the American Constitution. Music, baseball and political systems are examined in a journalistic way. Dangerous liberal trends are noted and desirable conservative elements expounded.

Mr. Chamberlin strikes the reviewer as a person who has been "short changed" by the American educational system. In an "excellent preparatory school" and in "one of the best small liberal arts colleges" he does "not recall a single course that gave . . . any deep insight into the nature and possible abuses of political power," nor did he have an economics course that left him with "any strong conviction about the desirability of individual property ownership . . . as a means of avoiding a concentration of state power . . . that would be a serious threat to individual liberty." This is a statement which the reviewer's students will not be able to make in a future autobiography!

The book is stimulating. Many passages will evoke echoes of assent from the reader. However, the reviewer deplores the fact that Mr. Chamberlin has come no farther in his conversion than to condone the violation of Negroes' rights as human beings by appealing to the "well-established tradition that education is a field left to the jurisdiction of the states."

EDMUND A. KURTH
Loras College
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ECONOMIC PLANNING IN UNDERDEVELOPED AREAS: *Government and Business.* By Edward S. Mason. The Miller Lectures, Fordham University Press, New York, 87 pp. \$2.50

In this slim volume Professor Mason addresses himself to the question: is there an optimal relation between government and the economy in the process of development? Drawing upon his experience over several years of work with governments in developed as well as undeveloped countries, Mason answers in the negative.

If it be true, he says, that 19th century development in Great Britain was carried forward with virtually no government planning, economic development elsewhere owes very much to government as expander, allocator and even manager of resources.

Moreover, since the inadequacies of the market are especially marked in early stages of development, the grounds for government assuming a large part of the task are doubly rational. But this case rests on the admitted deficiencies in the private sector rather than on any demonstrated capacity of government to make good these deficiencies.

Proceeding in this objective, non-doctrinaire manner, Professor Mason then analyzes situations in which governmental action will prove beneficial and concludes with specific evaluations of economic planning in South and Southeast Asia.

PHILIP LAND, S.J.
Gregorian University,
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THE CREATIVE YEARS. By Reuel L. Howe. Seabury Press, Greenwich, Conn., 239 pp. \$3.50

Whether we look at him as the dull conformist of the *Lonely Crowd* and *Organization Man* stamp or the security-seeking, anxiety-ridden creature portrayed by the psychoanalyst, the modern American adult appears pretty well messed up. In this stimulating book, Dr. Howe maintains that failure to heed God's command to understand, love, and care for others hinders all too many from leading mature and truly creative lives. Drawing upon his rich experience as an Episcopalian pastor, professor of theology and counselor, he describes with keen insight the delicate process of maintaining creative relationships throughout life. Since the term *creative* here stands for love, this is really a treatise on some practical aspects of charity. It should prove helpful to the many who seem to find the "middle years" sterile and without challenge.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SOCIAL CLASS.

By Maurice Halbwachs. Free Press, Glencoe, Ill. xvii, 142 pp., \$4

Translated from the French, this is the last work of an eminent sociologist who lived in the atmosphere of a Bergson, a Levy-Bruhl and a Durkheim. Halbwachs contributed much to the development of sociological method and to the increase in sociological knowledge; he died in a German concentration camp shortly before the Liberation.

In this highly stimulating essay, bristling with ideas and suggestions on the criss-crossing relations between social group and individual, you will encounter a solid piece of historical research that illustrates the way in which the sociologist has to make use of the historical perspective in order to gain insight into current situations.

Halbwachs intends to examine collective determinants "within the framework of the various social classes, the widest and the most natural, the least artificial of all the structures affecting men living in society" (p. 20). Today we would prefer to speak of status instead of class when referring to the group forms which the author stud-

ies. The main body of his book consists of an historical sketch of the peasant classes within traditional civilization and of urban civilization within the urban environment. This latter civilization is presented through the medium of various class forms: the entrepreneur and the bourgeoisie, the industrial worker and the lower middle or intermediate class. The four chapters of less than 100 pages, dealing with the emergence of these classes, could be used as a short text on the subject.

The concluding chapter briefly discusses other collective representations than class, offering pertinent remarks on patriotism, religion, science, art, politics, and social morals. The frequent references to Gabriel Le Bras' research on religious practices in France deserve special mentioning. What makes Halbwachs' essay valuable and gives it its significance is the manner in which the author refines the concepts of collective consciousness and representation. "Thus the spirit of each class and professional category burns more fiercely in the few who instinctively understand and draw most inspiration from it," notes the author. The group affects different individuals unequally. This fact, emphasized and worked out again and again by the author, makes his book truly a psychology of social class.

RUDOLPH E. MORRIS
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CHILD WELFARE: PRINCIPLES AND METHODS. By Dorothy Zeitz. Wiley, New York. 371 pp. \$5.50

This book is a welcome addition to the literature of social work. It presents an historical perspective of the development and growth of services for children and a survey of present-day services based on the needs of children.

Instead of a birds-eye view of history in a chapter or two, one half of the book is devoted to a scholarly, well-organized presentation in depth and breadth of the evolution of specialized services for children. The social, economic and political forces that had impact on developing social services are clearly pointed up and integrated.

The book is divided into five parts. The first three parts are devoted to the eras in the growth of services and the growth of our country. At the end of each chapter, the author sums up the significant growth and contributions of each era. The remaining two parts of the book are on present-day social services for children.

This is an excellent book as a college text, as a resource tool for teachers, and as a reference for practitioners in the social work field. It has value to those outside of social work. To those who are planning to enter the other helping or healing professions, this book has meaning and worth. It provides a broad base for understanding children and how our society has gone about providing for their needs.

RUTH M. JOYCE
Saint Louis University

MANAGEMENT'S MISSION IN A NEW SOCIETY. Edited by Dan H. Fenn, Jr. McGraw-Hill, New York. 345 pp. \$6

This arresting volume, a sort of record of the 28th Annual Harvard Business Conference (which was also the Fiftieth Anniversary Conference of the Harvard University Graduate School of Business) really defies compact review.

The consternation of a reviewer may be judged by the fact that, apart from the very "Business School" touch of the case of Athena Electronics Company, presenting a case of "responsibility" in Part Three at the end of the book, there are 38 authors for 319 pages of text. Throughout the book a footnote reappears, "Business men present at the panel session on which this chapter is based raised certain questions which brought about the interplay of ideas reported more or less verbatim in this section." Contributors "from the floor" are not identified. When the authorship further includes persons outside business, such as Arnold Toynbee, Charles H. Malik, Erwin D. Canham and Richard M. Nixon, the work of the reviewer is further complicated, especially where they raise questions, as Toynbee does, as to whether the modern economies are wealthy enough to

support bureaucracy or whether this is not a luxury suitable only for governments.

Nevertheless, the book reveals that much good thought has gone into the philosophy of business since the Harvard Business School was founded; this conference is probably as tidy a record of it as is possible in the present fluid state of the discussion. The book therefore will reward careful reading.

B. W. DEMPSEY, S.J.
Marquette University
Milwaukee, Wis.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF LAW IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE. By Carl Joachim Friedrich. Chicago University Press, 229 pp. \$4.75

Carl Friedrich, Harvard professor since 1926, has for many years been known for his writings on political science and perhaps best for his book *The New Belief in the Common Man*. We are now privileged to read in English a translation and adaptation of the author's *Die Philosophie des Rechts in historischer Perspektive*. Professor Friedrich has supplied the English-speaking world with a most perceptive and balanced history of the philosophy of law.

To write about philosophers of law is one of the most difficult tasks in the intellectual world because every philosophy of law is but a part of a particular general philosophy. Every philosopher of law, however, has not always perceived this and many of them—especially in the last century—have attempted to construct a philosophy of law or a jurisprudence independent of metaphysical scaffolding. For those in English-speaking nations (whose law derives from the common law) an added problem exists in the fact that the genius and the tragedy of common law is that it tends to proceed from case to case without particular concern for the philosophical underpinnings of the law.

Professor Friedrich has managed rather well to avoid the difficulties inherent in his task and has presented in his first 188 pages a summary of the philosophies of law from the ancients down to the positiv-

SOCIAL ORDER

ists of our own day. The doctrine of natural law, which runs through the history of law like a golden thread, is given adequate treatment by the author—in its ancient, medieval and modern forms. In fact, the author, after recounting various modern revivals of natural law thinking, states that in reference to the board philosophical problem of the need for a standard of justice "only the Catholic tradition has a coherent metaphysical answer."

Professor Friedrich, while objectively summarizing the metaphysical, anti-metaphysical and the a-metaphysical theories on the nature of law, seems at least to oppose the radical positivists. His own theory of the philosophy of law is set forth in the all-too-brief concluding 38 pages of his book. It does not exactly fit into any of the traditional categories but assumes that "justice is indeed an objective reality, transpersonal and not subjective," but must also be understood "as a changing reality." Justice "cannot be related to any one value, be it equality or any other, but only to the complex value system of man, a community of mankind." One need not have a "radical faith in reason for the conduct of a civilized community according to law." Rather, it is in the process of the common man's political action that one can find the source for the objectivity of justice.

While one hesitates to make critical judgments on an author's learned attempt to evolve a synthetic philosophy of law meeting all the problems involved in this enormously complex field yet one wonders what is the ultimate meaning of the suggested philosophy of law. If one denies the validity of any firm constants in human nature and the ends of society, is it not reductively positivism to say that, although law is a "dynamically normative concept," it is nonetheless a "creation of the citizen-members of the legal community." In any event, the sketch which Professor Friedrich has given raises serious questions and probes fundamental issues. Although some may feel that the opaqueness of the last section hinders its value to some extent, every student of law will say that it is a provocative challenge of a very high order.

ROBERT F. DRINAN, S.J.
Boston College Law School

... just a few things

(Continued from page 394)

National Council of Churches:

Half of the retired couples receiving social security benefits had total incomes of \$2,196 or more last year—\$183 a month—and half had less than that amount, a study has indicated. One-fourth of the couples had total money income of less than \$1,500, and the highest fourth received income of more than \$3,250.

Not counting OASI benefits, 19 per cent of the retired couples had outside income of less than \$75 during the year, and 28 per cent had additional income of less than \$300. Half the couples had outside income of more than \$900; 32 per cent had additional income of \$1,500 or more; and 13 per cent had additional income of \$3,000 or more. This additional income included funds from employment, private pensions, dividends and annuities, public assistance, and other sources.

The source is given as a study made by Victor Christgau, director of the Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance, Social Security Administration.

How, it is demanded, can there be a tolerable order of justice, when Senator Eugene McCarthy is heading an investigation to discover: "Why there should be three million unemployed in the nation today, though economic activity is running at a record high level?" But the phrasing itself of the question, as the *New York Times* pointed out on October 6, forgets "that residual unemployment even in the best of times is part of the price we may expect to pay in a country with such a widely varying climate, highly developed competition and the mobility of labor associated with such wide opportunities." Besides, the published figures include all those who are out of work, regardless of the period of their idleness. A single day out of work for the breadwinner is a strain on his pride and anxiety to his family. To fail to note, however,

that our "hard-core" unemployed is less than half that it was a year ago this time is to prefer the pessimistic view in the conviction that the more widespread the distress, the more justified our predictions.

With such a method of emotional satisfaction at hand, who cares what Sumner Slichter's figures may be when Michael Harrington assures us that

At least 40 million, perhaps closer to 60 million people, are living at or below the level . . . which the WPA provided to unmarried workers during the depression period of the 1930's.

Anyone who will believe that will believe anything or is not old enough to remember the Depression. In any event, the crude gap of 20 million people will not deter them.

It should not be news that the income of the aged is low after they have left the labor force. To list them—along with the migratory worker, the non-white minorities and those living in depressed areas—as constituting a social rather than an economic problem is not an attempt to sweep the issue under the table. There are inequalities of income due to factors other than skill; these inequalities are not alleviated by economic mechanisms—unless we are all to live off a common government dole. Thus, the *Wage Earner* tells us that income of the median white family in Detroit is \$6,300 a year while that of the median Negro family is \$3,800 a year. The reasons for the discrepancy are not obscure. Even with comparable skills, the Negro is disadvantaged, the disadvantage arising from the systematic patterns of prejudice that demand the non-economic remedy Secretary James P. Mitchell pointed out in his recent speech in New Orleans:

If a Negro child is considered inferior

to a white child, he will be so considered despite the location of his desk. What needs changing is not so much the location of the desk but the dislocation of the mind that makes the consideration.

Puerto Ricans are disadvantaged for reasons of their language deficiencies. The migrant worker suffers from the competition from the *bracero*, imported labor brought into the country at the request of the big farmer under government treaty.

These are problems that must be attacked by making educational opportunities more generally available, by encouraging leadership among the disadvantaged groups, by forming public opinion and by legislation. Progress demands knowledge of inter-group skills as well as of Christian charity.

It comes down to this, in the language of Professor Corrigan on another page of this issue:

Americans want progress. They recognize that progress without change is impossible. They recognize that the attempt to arrest reform is as great a threat to peace and order as is the intrigue of the agitator.

There *will* be progress and reform. But an ever increasing measure of justice, in answer to the fundamental promise of the American idea and the aspirations of American society, will be the result of hard work, involving the mind rather than the emotions.

The easier—but futile—approach was recommended to us by a potential subscriber who refused the invitation explaining: "You tell all of those Jesuits that if they do a good job of preaching the Gospel, the social order will take care of itself." Would that it were that simple. Then we could all join Moral Re-Armament where earnestness and impatience have an absolute value.

EDWARD DUFF, S.J.

September 11, 1959
434 Laurel Street
Manchester, N. H.

Institute of Social Order
1308 Westminster Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri

Dear Sirs:

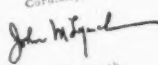
Enclosed is money-order for \$4. Please send to above address your magazine, Social Order, for one year.

Your magazine is recommended highly by Rev. John P. Cranin, S.S., in Social Principles And Economic Life, but he gives no address. I found your address in a book on marriage, compiled or edited by Fr. Kelley

and endorsed by Cardinal Spellman.

I read many Catholic periodicals but have never seen any ads about your magazine. Don't you ever advertise it or have I been oblivious of your ads?

Cordially,



John M. Lynch

P.S. George M. Cohan once had a play entitled "It Pays to Advertise."

SOCIAL ORDER

1308 WESTMINSTER PLACE

ST. LOUIS 8, MO.

September 15, 1959

Dear Mr. Lynch:

There are several ways of answering your note of September 11th.

I could claim that SOCIAL ORDER has a very restricted circulation, that we accept new subscribers only on nomination of friends and on payment through the Diners' club.

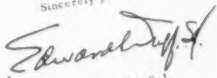
I could say that, confident that we have the better mousetrap, we are calmly waiting for the world to beat its way to our door. So sure are we of the uniqueness and value of our product that we consider advertising vulgar

exhibitionism.

The flat fact of the matter, however, is that the editor is the solitary sandhog in this editorial tunnel and has small time to interest himself in promotion. SOCIAL ORDER is, therefore, dependent upon the word of mouth

advertising it gets from devoted friends for its growth in circulation and influence. I hope you will be one of those friends.

Sincerely yours,



Edward Duff, S.J.

The magazine SOCIAL ORDER is indispensable to the social apostolate of the Church in the United States. . . . It is required reading for priests, sisters, labor leaders, professors, businessmen, editors, government officials, and for the average butcher, baker and candlestickmaker who wants to keep abreast of developments in the field of Catholic social thought—and Catholic social action. . . . It makes you think. . . . Incidentally, the annual subscription rate is ridiculously low. . . .

Msgr. George G. Higgins

Director, Social Action Dept., N. C. W. C.

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